Publishing since 1979

Central Asia

ISSN 1729-9802 (Print)
ISSN 2706-8102 (Online)

ISSUE NO. 88 SUMMER 2021

Journal of Area Study Centre
(Russia, China & Central Asia)
University of Peshawar
Peshawar - PAKISTAN

CENTRAL ASIA No. 88 Journal of Area Study Centre SUMMER 2021

CENTRAL ASIA

Biannual **No. 88** **Summer 2021**

1. EAEU and BRI in Central Asia: Transformation from Land-Locked to Land-Linked Region? 1-21
Adam Saud & Sarwat Rauf

2. Iran – China Deal: An Episode of Iran's Look to the East Policy 23-38
Asma Rashid & Anjum Ghouri

3. Political Instabilities in Afghanistan: Implications for Pakistan 39-56
Samina Yasmeen

4. An Introduction of Pashto Manuscripts in the State Library Berlin, Germany 57-72
Muhammad Ali Dinakhel

5. The Mechanism of Tribal Jirga System: Challenges and Prospects 73-87
Shaukatullah & Rubina Ali

Cover Photo Information

Darul Aman Palace (Kabul-Afghanistan)

Founded in 1920 by king Amanullah, situated 16 kilometers from Kabul, originally intended to be the seat of the new Afghan parliament, but it never served as that. The palace was destroyed by fire in 1969, later on restored and used as a museum for a short period of time. The Palace was taken over by the Defense Ministry and once again destroyed by a mujahideen group during the civil war of 1990. The Palace, rebuild in a three-story building, is 24-meter-tall, and inaugurated by Afghan President Ashraf Ghani on August 21, 2019, during a ceremony commemorating 100th anniversary of country's Independent Day.

Sources: 1. http://www.everycastle.com/Darul-Aman-Palace.html

2. https://tkg.af/english/2019/09/08/renovation-darul-aman-palace/

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Central Asia Journal No. 88, Summer 2021

EAEU AND BRI IN CENTRAL ASIA: TRANSFORMATION FROM LAND-LOCKED TO LAND-LINKED REGION?

Adam Saud[*] and Sarwat Rauf[**]

Abstract

Central Asia is one of the least integrated regions of Asia. Being a landlocked region, it depends on its neighboring states, especially Russia and China for its international trade through land. Both these states also have geo-political and geo-economic interests in this region. Both have been pro-active to integrate Central Asia into 'their' initiatives of integration. Russian led Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU) and Chinese Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) are two good examples in this regard. It has been observed that both EAEU and BRI may complement each other in the fields of infrastructure and transportation network development, energy security, and environmental issues. However, there are certain challenges to both the initiatives which include the divergent natures of both initiatives. First, BRI is a bilateral project while EAEU is a multilateral institution with well-defined hierarchy, rules and regulations. Second, all the Central Asian Republics (CARs) are members of BRI, whereas only two CARs viz. Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan are members of EAEU. Third, both Russia and China compete with each other for the hydrocarbons of the region. However, both initiatives have failed to contribute substantially in the industrial development of Central Asia. This research focuses on how both EAEU and BRI projects would help out Central Asia to become a Land-Linked region. The article addresses the questions; what are the objectives of EAEU and BRI? Why have CARs joined these organizations? And How

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can CARs benefits from both the organizations while balancing Russia and China in their foreign policies? Qualitative research methodology with secondary sources has been applied to this research while World Orders and Neo-Functionalism explain the problem.

Keywords: Central Asia, EAEU, BRI, Landlocked, Transportation Corridor.

Introduction

Landlocked countries of Central Asian region are not only desperate to find new international markets but need multiple routes to export their hydrocarbons as well as boosting international trade. China is the largest importer of natural gas from the region while Russia is the major transit hub of Central Asia's international trade including export of hydrocarbons. The instability in Afghanistan and US-Iran rivalry have never let Central Asian Republics' (CARs) international trade to boost through the Persian Gulf or Arabian Sea. There have been lots of efforts at regional as well as broader Eurasian level to integrate Central Asia into global economy.

Organizations like Central Asia Cooperation Organization (CACO), Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), Organization for Security and Cooperation for Europe (OSCE), Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU), and Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), to name few, have contributed for the development of this region. However, in the economic and trade domain, none of these organizations have really been successful so far. Knowing the importance of CARs for its land routes to Europe, China announced One Belt and One Road Initiative (OBOR) in Nazarbayev University Astana. It was a signal to the regional states that Beijing gives them special importance and is willing to invest billions of dollars to develop their infrastructure. All the regional states have welcomed the Chinese initiative hoping that it will not only integrate their economies globally and regionally but will benefit the local markets as well.

Moscow has always been very keen towards Central Asian region for security reasons as well as economic benefits. Being part of the ex-Soviet domain, CARs have always been significant to Russian foreign policy makers. In order to balance the Chinese investments and economic interests in the region, Moscow is busy to convince and integrate CARs into its own economic and political organizations. Moscow initiated Eurasian Economic Community (EAEC) on the pattern of European Economic Community (EEC) which, in 2015, was elevated to Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU).

Although, all the CARs except Turkmenistan[1] had been the members of EAEC, only Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan have joined the EAEU.

In order to understand the converging and diverging interests of both Russia and China within the Central Asian region under the umbrella of EAEU and BRI, it is important to understand two approaches i.e. World Orders and Neo-Functionalism. According to World Orders approach[2], there are five world orders currently engaged in the Central Asian region. These Orders include; Russia Slavic, Western Liberal, Chinese Sinic, Islamic and the Residual Socialist Order. These Orders simultaneously cooperate and contradict each other. They even overlap and interpenetrate each other.

The Russian Slavic Order is pro-active towards this region since 1993. It considers the Central Asian region as natural shield against the (possible) Southern intrusion. This order wants to keep its political and economic influence in the region through domination over the hydrocarbon exports and security guarantees. While it considers Chinese Sinic and the Western Liberal Orders as a threat. The Chinese Sinic Order is interested into the hydrocarbons of the region besides NATO's presence along with the extremist and terrorist elements. It faces the East Turkestan Islamic Movement in Xinjiang which, possibly, have connections with its counterparts in Central Asia. Slavic Order cooperates with the both against Islamic Order. Furthermore, both Slavic and Sinic Orders cooperate against the Liberal Order in Central Asian region and other non-conferential issues. A good example of their cooperation in and with Central Asian states is the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. So, there are avenues for cooperation between China and Russia in this region and one of the main area is economic and trade cooperation.

Neo-Functionalism[3] focuses upon the regional integration. It talks about the gradual and, initially, preferred areas of economic integration which later on brings more areas under cooperation. The "main aspects of neo-functionalism are; functional spillover, political spillover, and importance of supranational organizations."[4]This theory says that positive impacts of functional and political integration in 'some' areas will lead

[1] Turkmenistan has been pursuing a foreign policy of positive permanent neutrality which forbids Ashgabat to join any of the military, political or economic blocs.
[2] Adam Saud, "World Orders in Central Asia; United Against Political Islam?" *Regional Studies*, XXXV(3), (Autumn 2017).
[3] A. Niemann and P. Schmitter, "Neo-Functionalism" in Antje Wiener and Thomas Diez, *Theories of European Integration*, 2nd edition, (Oxford: OUP, 2009), 45-66
[4] Anastassia Obydenkova, "Comparative Regionalism: Eurasian Cooperation and European Integration. The Case of Neo-Functionalism?" *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, Vol. 2, (2011), 87-102

towards integration into further areas. Such benefits would lead to a trust on the part of decision makers to bring maximum integration.

While most of the scholars either have discussed the role of BRI and EAEU in Central Asia individually and/or competition between the two initiatives, least has been explored about the overlapping interests, hence cooperation and support to each other in trade and economy domains. This study focuses on possible positive outcomes of both initiatives for Central Asian states which may also lead towards broader cooperation between China and Russia.

Eurasian Economic Union

The Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU) came into existence on January 1, 2015. The agreement was signed on May 29, 2014 between Russia, Kazakhstan and Belarus. Armenia and Kyrgyzstan joined the Union later. The major objective of the EAEU is the creation of common energy and electricity markets. Other objectives include; to ease the cross border trade without much barriers and facilitation of visa free regimes for the migrant workers of the member states.

The EAEU has emerged out of the Eurasian Economic Community (EAEC) established in 2000. The efforts to establish a Custom Union (CU) started in 2006, when Russia, Kazakhstan and Belarus agreed to announce it. This CU was formally launched in 2010.[5]After removing many of the trade barriers, this CU headed towards a Single Economic Space (SES) in 2012. While discussing the idea of "Eurasian Union" president Putin stated that "the new Union would be open to the world and brings its members into a Greater Europe."[6] Following the footprints of EU, EAEU's main purpose is the duty free trade within the member states while emphasizing on the standardizing of the goods. It also wanted to establish "a single labour and services market."[7]

The EAEU Treaty says that "the objectives of industrial policy are to (a) accelerate the sustainability of industrial development, (b) increase the competitiveness of member states' industrial complexes, (c) implement

[5] "The Eurasian Economic Union: Power, Politics and Trade", *International Crises Group*, Report No. 40, (July 2016), 6

[6] "A new integration project for Eurasia – the future, which is being born today," *Center for Strategic Assessment and Forecasts*, (October 3, 2011). Retrieved from: http://csef.ru/en/politica-i-geopolitica/223/novyj-integraczionnyj-proekt-dlya-evrazii-budushhee-kotoroe-rozhdaetsya-segodnya-1939

[7] "The Eurasian Economic Union: Power, Politics and Trade", *International Crises Group*, Report No. 40, (July 2016), 7

effective cooperation for innovation, and (d) remove barriers in industrial sector, including the movement of industrial goods."[8]

The EAEU has a well-defined and relatively powerful supranational decision and conflict resolution bodies. If "Collegium"[9] gives a decision by two third majority, each member has to obey that. But every member has the right to veto. This veto comes with the approval of" Council of the Eurasian Economic Commission" comprised of the deputy prime ministers of member states.[10]

According to the Neo-Functionalism, first step towards economic integration is the creation of free trade areas which abolish tariffs among the member states. After the success of free trade areas, Custom Union (CU) is formed which aims at the abolishing of movement of capital, services, labour and commodities. CU also charts out a single trade policy with the non-member states. EAEU has achieved the second step of integration in the form of Custom Union where some of the modalities are being finalized. Therefore, despite facing problems, there are indicators that EAEU is heading towards regional integration.

Belt and Road Initiative (BRI)

Initiated in 2013 as One Belt One Road, the BRI project aims to develop infrastructure and transportation networks across the ancient Silk Routes. BRI "envisions a vast network of railways, highways, ports, pipelines, and communication infrastructure spanning the Eurasian continent and facilitating trade, investment, and people-to-people exchange."[11] In a statement, Chinese president Xi Jinping announced that China will "jointly build an 'economic belt' along the Silk Road with Central Asian partners to deepen cooperation and expand development in the Euro-Asia region."[12] In order to support the initiative, Beijing has initiated supporting financial projects like the Asian Infrastructure and investment Bank (AIIB) with an investment of $50 billion, Maritime Silk Road (MSR) with $25 billion, Silk

[8] Treaty on the Eurasian Economic Union, http://www.un.org/en/ga/sixth/70/docs/treaty_on_eeu.pdf.

[9] Loosely modelled on its Brussels counterpart, the EEC is headed by ten "Members of the Collegium" (or ministers), two from each member state. Each presides over several of 25 thematic departments, of which perhaps the largest and most important is trade policy.

[10] "The Eurasian Economic Union: Power, Politics and Trade", *International Crises Group*, Report No. 40, (July 2016), 12

[11] Michael Clarke, "The Belt and Road Initiative: China's New Grand Strategy?" *Research Gate*, (2017). Retrieved from: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/319100054

[12] "Full Video: President Xi Jinping Delivers Speech at Nazarbayev University," CCTV, September 7, 2013 u http://english.cntv.cn/program/newsupdate/20130907/102105.shtml.

Road Economic Belt (SREB) with an investment of $40 billion and a $40 billion Silk Road Fund (SRF).[13]

The project aims to integrate the world economically. It also wants to integrate China's less developed regions not only to mainland China but to international markets. The infrastructural development and enhancement of transportation network under the BRI project may bring the world closer where increased people to people connectivity is expected. It is also expected that multilateral economic and trade activities may develop the improvised regions and contribute for the economic development and social development of the global South.

EAEU and BRI in Central Asia

Since the Central Asian region is at the core of both EAEU and BRI, it is expected that these projects would change the status of this region from "land-locked to land-linked region."[14]Interestingly, territories of both the initiatives overlap each other. The main area of interest for both organizations is also, more or less, the same that is economic and trade cooperation. The EAEU aims to create "common markets with (a) harmonized legislation; (b) unified energy, transport, and communication infrastructure; (c) coordinated tax system; and, (d) free movement of goods, services, capital and labor force" while BRI's major focus is "coordination of national policy, development of infrastructure potential, liberalization and simplification of trade and investment, as well as financial and cultural cooperation."[15] The optimists think that as many of the objectives of both organizations overlap, it is expected that both will cooperate in these domains.

The increased cooperation is expected to enhance the economic activities, hence beneficial for the Central Asian region. Kazakhstan, being the core member of EAEU and the most important partner of BRI in Central Asia, has the potential to perform a role of bridge between two initiatives. Similarly, Chinese investment in Kazakh and Turkmenistan hydrocarbon sector and in Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan's transport

[13] Richard Ghiasy and Jiayi Zhou, "The Silk Road Economic Belt: Considering Security Implications and EU-China Cooperation Prospects," (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, February 2017), 5. Retrieved from: https://www.sipri.org/publications/2017/other-publications/silk-road-economic-belt.

[14] Anna Gussarova and Farkhod Aminjanov, "*The Eurasian Economic Union and the Silk Route Economic Belt: Competition or Convergence*?" (Almaty: Central Asia Institute of Strategic Studies, July 2017), 1

[15] Anna Gussarova and Farkhod Aminjanov, "*The Eurasian Economic Union*."

infrastructure development has opened the news ways for regional economic integration. This integration has given birth to weird laws as well.

The new labour laws in Russia bind the migrant workers from non-EAEU member states to pass Russian language test. It is also obligatory to pass the Russian history exam before they get a permit to work in Russia. However, the EAEU member residents don't need such requirement. The Kyrgyz and Armenian immigrant workers benefit from this situation.[16] Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, having hundreds of thousands migrant workers in Russia and Kazakhstan see attraction to join EAEU in this regard.

Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan have significant ties with China; simultaneously they are partners in BRI project as well. Their membership in both initiatives would have positive impacts not only on their national economies but across the whole region. Besides large number of Kyrgyz migrant workers in both Russia and Kazakhstan, main lifeline of Bishkek's international trade is Kazakhstan. Hence, despite minimal costs, EAEU is a very good option for the Kyrgyz Republic. As the custom barriers were uplifted in August 2015 between Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, it has further increased the bilateral as well as international trade of Kyrgyzstan. Furthermore, under the umbrella of EAEU, Russia supplies oil and oil products to Kyrgyzstan without any tariffs. Once the common energy market is established, Kyrgyzstan would benefit from the tariff free hydrocarbons from Russia. The price of these items will, obviously, be much cheaper.

Possible Benefits

Since, all the CARs are aspirant to build and integrate their economies in the post-Soviet space, regional integration and cooperation with global financial organizations is the need of time. There are expectations that beside lose control over cross border trade, EAEU has provided a window of opportunity to the member states to resolve their conflicts. The loose border controls are expected to lessen the tensions among the regional states especially over the Fergana Valley where there are border disputes among Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. Another motivation is the working conditions of labour migrants in Russia.[17]

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[16] Evgeny Denisenko, "Токтоболотов: Вступление в ЕАЭС серьезно изменило статус трудовых мигрантов" ["Toktobolotov: Entry into the EEU has seriously changed the status of labour migrants"], Vecherniy Bishkek, 4 April 2016. Cited in "The Eurasian Economic Union: Power, Politics and Trade", *International Crises Group*, Report No. 40, (July 2016), 18

[17] "The Eurasian Economic Union: Power, Politics and Trade", *International Crises Group*, Report No. 40, (July 2016), 3

For President Putin, "Eurasian integration is a chance for the entire post-Soviet space to become an independent center for global development, rather than remaining on the outskirts of Europe and Asia."[18]Increased trade between China and EAEU have benefited the CARs because it happens through this region. There are prospects for the establishment of common transportation corridors. EAEU can balance the possible inflow of Chinese cheap goods into the Central Asian markets through charting out common trade policy towards Beijing.

Since it's easier for capital and human resource to flow across the Custom Union, China can export its goods to the common market while having ventures in any of the member states. This will surely help Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan in particular and other CARs in general. A vast free trade agreement can be signed among the number of Eurasian countries if Chinese and Russian interests converge. If it happens, Central Asian region would be at the heart of it.

There has been a steady increase in Chinese trade with the CARs. Economic integration will provide fertile grounds to Beijing to enhance its trade and economic activities in the Central Asian region. Construction of railway line from China to Uzbekistan through Kyrgyzstan is under consideration. When completed, an expected volume of 12 million tons of Chinese cargo per annum will pass through Kyrgyzstan.[19]Chinese authorities expect this railway line will be further extended to Iran.

It is expected that the cargo turn over between Kazakhstan and China through Khorgos crossing will reach up to 20 million tons within next couple of years which will reach to 35 million tons in 2035.[20] Kazakhstan has launched a 2030 Strategy which says that the country will try to reach the ranks of developed countries by year 2030. To achieve this target, Nur-Sultan (Astana) has initiated the industrial development besides being regional transportation corridor. Railway lines are being developed by Kazakhstan in order to be cost effective in comparison to Trans-Siberian and South Sea Routes. It is noteworthy that Kazakhstan route is more cost effective for Chinese trade with Europe than the Russian routes.[21]

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[18] Office of the Russian President, "Meeting of the Valdai International Discussion Club," (September 19, 2013). URL: http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/19243

[19] "*Railroad from China: So Far Only on Paper*," Retrieved from: https://rus.azattyk.org/a/28250725.html.

[20] "China opens second railway to Kazakhstan," Xinhuanet.com, (December 22, 2012), Retrieved from: http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/china/2012-12/22/c_132057373.htm

[21] "Kazakhstan broadens the geography of transport-logistics strategy," Official cite of the Prime Minister of the RK, Retrieved from:

China is the major investor and largest trade partner with Tajikistan. It has constructed new highways to connect Xinjiang with its neighboring Central states. With the help of China, electrification process of railway lines is underway in Uzbekistan. China has also constructed a tunnel between Ahangaran and Pop in Uzbekistan. This tunnel has reduced hundreds of kilometers of journey between the two cities.[22] China-Kazakhstan-Turkmenistan-Iran railway line is operational. In January 2016, first Chinese cargo train went to Iran through this railway line. This journey was completed in only 16 days which had to take almost double time through the sea route.[23]

Image: China-Kazakhstan-Turkmenistan-Iran Rail Project

Source: Google Images

The North-South Corridor is helpful for both Chinese and Russian trade with Iran. The railway line serves the said purpose. This corridor is very important and can benefit the EAEU as well.

Inclusion into EAEU has increased the Kyrgyz textile and garments products within the member states. The membership has also helped Bishkek to export these products to EAEU's trade partners globally. Kyrgyz authorities want to establish a brand name "made in Kyrgyzstan" within garments industry for which they are improving the quality of products

http://www.primeminister.kz/news/show/21/kazahstan-rasshirjaet-geografiju-transportno-logisticheskoj-strategii/26-12-2012.

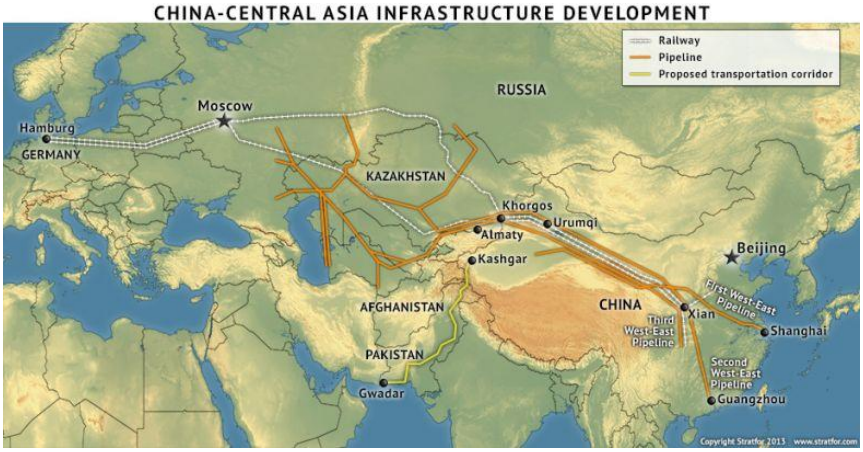
[22] Adam Saud, "Revivalism of Silk Routes: CPEC and Central Asia-South Asia Connectivity," *Political Studies*, Special Issue (2018), 194-95

[23] "Railroad 'China–Kazakhstan–Turkmenistan–Iran' Was Presented in Beijing," Retrieved from:: https://forbes.kz/news/2016/04/26/newsid_110648

which can also compete in the EU markets. There are prospects that if Tajikistan joins it, Dushanbe's aluminum export may raise manifold. This aluminum has a huge market in the booming Russian construction industry. Similarly, Kazakhstan also has the capacity to absorb Tajik aluminum into its construction industry. Dushanbe also expects investment in banking sector, hydroelectricity sector, cotton production, and textile industry after the membership of EAEU. China has largest investment in the form of foreign direct investment in Tajikistan. Chinese FDI is more than 60% of the total Tajik FDI.[24]

EAEU and China have signed a trade and economic cooperation agreement in May 2018.[25]There are chances that this agreement will bring further positive developments as Chinese investments in the transportation and infrastructure development will not only help the EAEU-China trade but intra-trade in Central Asia as well.

Image: China-Central Asia Infrastructure Development



Source: https://worldview.stratfor.com/article/chinas-ambitions-xinjiang-and-central-asia-part-1

[24] "*China Became Major Investor in Tajikistan*," Retrieved from: http://www.easttime.ru/news/tadzhikistan/kitai-stal-osnovnym-investorom-tadzhikistana/12477

[25] Georgi Gotev, "*Kazakhstan Advocates Closer ties between EU and the Eurasian Economic Union*," EURACTIV.com, (January 17, 2019). Retrieved from: https://www.euractiv.com/section/central-asia/news/kazakhstan-advocates-closer-ties-between-eu-and-eurasian-economic-union/

Chinese investment under the umbrella of BRI has created employment opportunities for Central Asian populace in Chinese companies working in their areas. It has also provided opportunities for the people to get jobs in China. China has also provided thousands of scholarships to the Central Asian students for higher education in Chinese universities. Furthermore, China has established many Confucius institutes in the region. This move is an attempt to exert soft power over Central Asia. Job seekers in China from the region are also interested to know the Chinese language, culture and history in order to have better understanding of the Chinese society.

China is the major source of Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan gas and oil exports. China has constructed pipelines from the shores of Caspian Sea all the way to Xinjiang in China. According to Chinese National Petroleum Company (CNPC), the current gas imports from Central Asia amount up to 55 billion cubic meters which will reach up to 85 billion cubic meters once Line-D is completed and operationalized.[26]China pledged $ 48 billion to invest into Central Asian energy markets during president Xi Jinping's recent visit to the region.[27]

Uzbekistan is an important market for both China and Russia because it has comparatively competitive industrial sector with machinery production. Tashkent is an active partner in China's BRI project. It also aspires to benefit from the EAEU. In this regard, Uzbek president Shavkat Mirziyoyev stated on January 24, 2020 that "not only 80 percent of Uzbekistan's products pass through the EAEU member countries– Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Russia-the same countries are the final consumers of 50 to 80 percent of Uzbekistan's exports...Integration (with EAEU) means better conditions for our migrants in Russia and Kazakhstan…the government is studying avenues to cooperate with the Eurasian Economic Union."[28] It is pertinent to note that around 30% of Uzbek international trade had been recorded with the EAEU member states

[26] "Flow of Natural Gas from Central Asia," *Chinese National Petroleum Company*, Retrieved from: https://www.cnpc.com.cn/en/FlowofnaturalgasfromCentralAsia/FlowofnaturalgasfromCentralAsia2.shtml

[27] Spencer Sheehan, "The Problem with China's One Belt, One Road Strategy," The Diplomat, May 24, 2017, http://thediplomat. com/2017/05/the-problem-with-chinas-one-belt-one-road-strategy/.

[28] Umida Hashimova, "Uzbekistan will Cooperate with Eurasian Economic Union," *The Diplomat*, January 27, 2020. URL: https://thediplomat.com/2020/01/uzbekistan-will-cooperate-with-eurasian-economic-union/

in 2018.[29] It is expected that inclusion of Uzbekistan will encourage and open the doors for other states like Azerbaijan, Iran and Turkey to join EAEU. This possible expansion will create further opportunities for the CARs to not only integrate into the regional markets but with Caucasus, the Middle East and Europe.

[29] "Uzbekistan Befuddled by Eurasian Economic Union's tug of War," *Eurasianet*, November 1, 2019. URL: https://eurasianet.org/uzbekistan-befuddled-by-eurasian-economic-union-tug-of-war

Image: Central Asian Roads, Rails and Energy Transportation Network

Source: Financial Times

Not only states from the region like Tajikistan and Uzbekistan aspire to join the EAEU but states like Mongolia, Turkey, Syria and even Tunisia are potential contenders of membership. Currently, Moldova has the observer status.[30]

May 2018, Chinese and EAEU free trade agreement "reduces some trade barriers and simplifies customs procedures, creating a foundation for

[30] Chris Devonshire-Ellis, "China Russia Great Eurasian Partnership on Development Track as EAEU Agree to Regional Free Trade," *Silk Road Briefing*, (February 12, 2019). Retrieved from: https://www.silkroadbriefing.com/news/2019/02/12/china-russia-great-eurasian-partnership-development-track-eaeu-agree-regional-free-trade/

deeper integration."[31] Since 2013, Beijing has invested around $ 100 billion into the EAEU's economies under the SERB project. This agreement has high hopes that cooperation between the two entities will bring a development revolution in the broader Eurasian region.

Russian idea of 'Great Eurasian Partnership' can be materialized with the help of Chinese investment in the infrastructural development. China has invested a large amount into the Asian and African markets besides improvement in the transportation network along with infrastructure development. The recent trends of Russian international trade also dictate that Moscow is keen to enhance its trade with Asian and African nations. Increase in Chinese and Russian trade volume with these regions may complement each other. Therefore, there are chances that both entities will cooperate with each other in this domain. The benefits of this cooperation will surely be reaped by the Central Asian states as they are at the core of 'this' trade.

"In May 2015 Russian and Chinese leaders agreed during a bilateral meeting in Moscow to link each country's regional integration projects, namely China's Silk Road Economic Belt and Russia's Eurasian Economic Union (EEU), instead of competing with each other for influence over the same geopolitical space in Central Asia."[32]

Another important area of cooperation between Russia and China within Central Asia is the environmental crises. There are always few negative impacts on the environment when industrialization and infrastructure is developed. BRI project may bring some environmental problems in Central Asia as well. This can happen especially in Tajikistan where Chinese cement plants can add to the decline of environment.[33] The Aral Sea crises have brought disastrous impacts on already endangered environment of Central Asia. Within 20 years, around 90% of the water from Aral Sea has dried up. It happened primarily due to Soviet wrong agricultural policies, mismanagement and increase in the region's population. These crises have negative impacts on the health conditions of Aral Sea region. People carry infectious diseases besides respiratory

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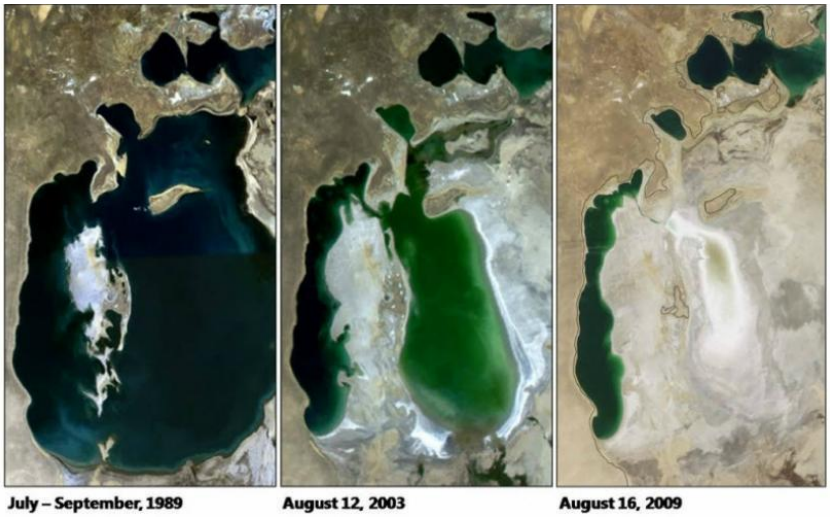
[31] Oleg Remyga, "*Linking the Eurasian Economic Union and China's Belt and Road*," (November 9, 2018). Retrieved from: https://reconnectingasia.csis.org/analysis/entries/linking-eurasian-economic-union-and-chinas-belt-and-road/

[32] Alexander Gabuev, "Eurasian Silk Road Union: Towards a Russia-China Consensus?" *The Diplomat*, (June 5 2016). Retrieved from: http://thediplomat.com/2015/06/eurasian-silkroad-union-towards-a-russia-china-consensus/

[33] Van der Kley, D. *China Shifts Polluting Cement to Tajikistan. China Dialogue*. (8 August 2016). Retrieved from: https://www.chinadialogue.net/article/show/single/en/9174-China-shifts-polluting-cementto-Tajikistan

disorders, liver and kidney failures and skin diseases. The water of this region is also polluted. Major sources of water pollution are the industrial waste, agricultural chemicals, and municipal drainage.[34]

Image: Satellite Image of Aral Sea.



Source: Google

The document of the Silk Road Economic Belt states that "we should promote ecological progress in conducting investment and trade, increase cooperation in conserving the eco-environment, protect biodiversity, tackle climate change, and join hands to make the Silk Road an environment-friendly one."[35]

Under this agreement Beijing is doing efforts to protect the environment of Central Asian region. It has introduced the latest upgraded water technology in its cement plants located in Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan. This new technology has reduced the release of toxic materials.[36] Similarly, "Russia actively participates in international cooperation and is a party to

[34] Dinara Ziganshina, "Environmental Law: Russia and Central Asia," *The Law and Politics of Sustainability*, Vol. 3, (University of Dundee, 2010). Retrieved from: https://discovery.dundee.ac.uk/ws/portalfiles/portal/95820/ZIGANSHINA+Environmental+Law+-+Russia+and+Central+Asia+%28Krasnova+et+al%29.pdf

[35] Elena F. Tracy, "China's new Eurasian Ambitions: The Environmental Risks of the Silk Road Economic Belt," *Eurasian Geography and Economic*, 58(1), (2017)

[36] Levina, M. "China Helps Upgrade Bishkek Thermal Power Plant." *The Times of Central Asia*, (23 September 2013). Retrieved from:https://www.timesca.com/index.php/news/8295-china-helps-upgrade-bishkek-thermalpower-plant

most global and regional international forums on biodiversity, wildlife protection, air pollution, industrial safety, among others."[37] Therefore, Moscow also backs the efforts to protect environment in Central Asia.

It has been observed that China has proposed a new 'regional integration model which may also present some opportunities' especially for the protection of environment. Having convergence of interests, it is expected that both Russia and China will help the regional states for the protection of environment.

Possible Challenges

Although there are many prospects one can expect in the form of cooperation, EAEU and BRI differ onto few questions. The fundamental difference between the two initiatives is of their nature. EAEU is an organization with well-defined structure and conflict resolution mechanism, BRI lacks such structure because it is an investment program. BRI does not impose membership and is bilateral in nature while EAEU is a multilateral initiative. There is a competition among the Central Asian states regarding BRI project. Each state wants to be the transportation link and main hub of Chinese land trade with Europe. However, "Focusing on infrastructure, the BRI rather tends to enhance Chinese opportunities and positions in the region than to assist Central Asia's strategic develop."[38]

While comparing EAEU with BRI in Central Asia, it is clear that BRI has advantageous position. Only Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan are the members of EAEU while all five states are part of BRI. Furthermore, the trade volume within EAEU is less while China's trade with most of Central Asian states is massive. Despite the fact that Kyrgyzstan is the member of EAEU, its largest trade partner is China not Russia. Similarly, knowing the fact that Tajikistan is dependent on Russia for its security and having Russian base on its soil, still it is not the member of EAEU. China is also the largest trade partner of Tajikistan. More importantly, more than half of the Tajik Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) comes from China.

EAEU members as well as other regional states also suspect Russian dominance within the organization. Some of the most important projects like introducing a common currency and joint parliament for EAEU has been opposed by Kazakhstan and Belarus. Moreover, there are internal

[37] Dinara Ziganshina, "Environmental Law: Russia and Central Asia," *The Law and Politics of Sustainability*, 3, (University of Dundee, 2010). Retrieved from: https://discovery.dundee.ac.uk/ws/portalfiles/portal/95820/ZIGANSHINA+Environmental+Law+-+Russia+and+Central+Asia+%28Krasnova+et+al%29.pdf

[38] Anna Gussarova and Farkhod Aminjanov, "The Eurasian Economic Union."

differences and conflict of interests within the member states. For example, when a conflict erupted in April 2016 in Nagorno-Karabakh region between Armenia and Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan-having good relations with Azerbaijan- pressurized to shift the venue of EAEU summit from Yerevan, the capital of Armenia, to Moscow.[39]

When Russia imposed economic sanctions on Turkey in the wake of December 2015 Russian fighter plane shot down incident, Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan did not halt their trade and diplomatic activities with Turkey because all the Central Asian states have close historical, religious, cultural, diplomatic and economic relations with Turkey.

Furthermore, in the wake of Russia-Ukraine crises over Crimea in 2014, Kazakhstan bypassed Russia to carry on its trade with Ukraine. Nur-Sultan (Astana) used alternative route through the Caspian Sea, Azerbaijan and Georgia. It is important to know that Kazakhstan is one of the largest exporters to Ukraine.[40]All these cases depict that member states, especially Kazakhstan often balances the Russian moves to dominate the EAEU.

In 2009, European Union launched "EU's Eastern Partnership Program." This program included Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, and Ukraine. The program focuses on the support in the fields of good governance, strengthening civil society, promoting human rights and civil liberties and enhanced economic activities.[41]This partnership program is also a challenge to EAEU as these states are more inclined towards EU than EAEU so far regional integration is concerned. Furthermore, disputes between the member states have also hindered the integration. Regional economic crises are also slowing down the process of regional integration.

One more challenging aspect is the stiff competition between Russia and China over the transportation of Central Asian hydrocarbons. Already challenged by the Chinese pipelines A, B, C and D from the shores of Caspian Sea to Xinjiang, Moscow has serious reservations over the alternative transportation routes of the Central Asian energy resources. Not only BRI but its flagship project of CPEC has given high hopes to the

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[39] Sara Hojoyan, "*Conspicuous by Presence: Armenia attends EEU summit moved from Yerevan amid Karabakh crisis*", Armenianow.com, (14 April 2016). Retrieved from: https://www.armenianow.com/en/news/2016/04/14/armenia-eurasian-union-summit-prime-minister-moscow/967/

[40] "*Ukraine to ship goods to Kazakhstan, bypassing Russia*", Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL), (13 January 2016). Retrieved from: www.rferl.org/content/ukraine-goods-kazakhstan-bypassing-russia/ 27486101.html.

[41] "European Neighbourhood Policy and Enlargement Negotiations: Eastern Partnership," *European Union*, Retrieved from: https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/neighbourhood/eastern-partnership_en

Central Asian States for alternative energy routes. Furthermore, establishment of common energy markets-the baseline of EAEU-is yet to be established.

"Other constraints regarding ways to conjugate the EAEU and BRI lie in the sphere of logistics, trade barriers, political tensions and fears of strong partners, intrinsic to post-Soviet and less developed countries."[42]

Both, BRI and EAEU have failed to help the Central Asian states in industrial development. It seems that both the initiatives tend to exert influence of China and Russia in their desired domains. It seems that China is mainly interested in the natural resources and land routes to Europe while Russia wants to keep its monopoly over the energy transportation as well political and security dependence of Central Asian states. Nevertheless, both initiatives are expected to integrate the landlocked region into the global markets.

Conclusion

Both EAEU and BRI project compete and complement each other in the Central Asia region. Russia not only wants to balance the Chinese investment in the region but to counter the Western influence in the fields of democracy (three coloured Revolutions[43]) and human rights domain.

"Economic integration goes beyond just physical connectivity and transportation networks. It also implies development of common industrial capacities by providing joint innovative industrial facilities, including the Eurasian network of technology transfer, technology platforms, clusters and engineering centers."[44]

There are more differences for future strategies within the EAEU while BRI has included investment besides the infrastructure development. Therefore, Central Asian states prefer BRI project over EAEU as it provides "incomprehensible and obscure return conditions than the short term regime stability efforts by Russia which obviously is politically motivated. Furthermore, EAEU has failed to achieve the experience of the EU in most of its initiatives.

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[42] Elnur Mekhdiev et all, "Conjugation of Belt and Road Initiative and Eurasian Economic Union: Problems and Development Prospects", *Economies*, 7(18), (December 2019).

[43] So called democratic revolutions namely; Rese Revolution of Georgia in 2003, Orange Revolution of Ukraine in 2004 and Tulip Revolution of Kyrgyzstan in 2005 are widely attributed to the Western support by regional states as well China and Russia.

[44] Anna Gussarova and Farkhod Aminjanov, "*The Eurasian Economic Union*."

Despite these problems, there are still prospects that both the initiatives can change the fate of this region especially through those projects and initiatives where there is convergence of interests of both China and Russia. More importantly, Central Asian states have to balance the influence of both the regional powers in all fields while maintaining cordial relations with both.

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Central Asia Journal No. 88, Summer 2021

IRAN – CHINA DEAL: AN EPISODE OF IRAN'S LOOK TO THE EAST POLICY

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Abstract

Iran-China deal amid global power shifts from unipolarity to bipolarity suggests Iran's counterbalancing vis-à-vis Western Powers, particularly U.S. as, the U.S. withdrew from the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) in May 2018 agreed upon on July 14, 2015, between Iran, the U.S., and its western allies. However, another view persists that Iran's "Look to the East Policy" adopted back in 2005 was meant to strengthen relations with natural regional neighbors that seem a rational choice for Iran. This notion is somewhat true as ideological concerns became obsolete with the demise of the Soviet Union. Today's foreign policy approach moves around the spatial(relates to geography) dimension as states cannot change their neighbors. Furthermore, it is in the mutual interest of the countries of the region as well. To understand the true essence of the Iran-China deal it is pivotal to understand the factual history and thorough understanding of Iran's foreign policy on an ontological basis. Academicians gauge this deal from the prism of power balance or bandwagoning approach epistemologically, but this study uncovers the facts based on rational choice theory and its impacts on Iran.

Keywords: China, U.S. Hegemony, Global Politics, Foreign Policy, Regional Politics, Rational Choice, Iran

Introduction:

Contemporary global politics is a baffling chess game. Various players are emerging in the global political arena with their own pace and ferocity. States who will choose their battles with sagacity and pragmatics

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will be the one to triumph this contest. Myopic and one-state-centric policies will only constrain the foreign policy choices of any state.

President Trump's withdrawal from the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action in 2018 and subsequent maximum pressure efforts to bring Iran's economy to halt considerably constrained Iran's trade with European countries and India because of stringent sanctions. This maximum pressure policy was aimed to limit Iran's maneuvers regionally and globally. Iran's theological stronghold and its agitated 'forward defense doctrine' are two major impediments to President Trump's policy. In addition to the domestic stronghold, Iran has not been left lurching like a rudderless ship by its regional ally and U.S. A's alleged archrival, China. Apparently, this show of Iran-China amity hints at China and Iran's balancing and bandwagoning vis-à-vis the U.S.A. However, historical analysis suggests that Iran's east-ward tilt is not a novel policy overturn; in fact, this East-orientation has been a long-standing factor in Iran's foreign policy. This study based on rational-choice theory suggests that Iran's foreign policy is multidimensional and well-orchestrated by keeping in view Iran's best interests rather than mere U.S centric balancing. Moreover, Iran's East approach has been a long-standing factor in Iran's policy carved out after substantial calculations and introspection.

This study provides an in-depth analysis of the long relations of present-day Iran and China going through the evolution processes of foreign policy to secure their respective national interests and perspicacious leadership. Furthermore, it encompasses the new measures adopted by them and their whomp on U.S. foreign policy goals. China has become a two-edged sword for the U.S. economically and politically. The U.S. should get rid of pervasive flaws in its foreign policy and revise it to buttress its hegemony and secure national interest that is expansion and consolidation of global power in which China is becoming partner slowly and gradually. The U.S. may lose its position with already prevailing strategies. It is to see that how much room the U.S. has to put itself to advance the county's national interest and better meet the challenges of forming new alliances.

Theoretical Framework:Foreign Policy of Iran

Foreign policy decisions of a state have been an interplay of various factors including internal and external determinants, ideational leanings of leaders, opportunities, systemic pressures, resources, political culture, public demands, economy, ethnography, geography, neighborhood, and regional and global aspirations of a state etc. In an article Darwich and Kaarbo has made an interesting case and argued that An FPA perspective proposes that central decision-making units (leaders) subjectively interpret domestic and

international constraints and opportunities affect foreign policy.[1] It also seems true in case of Iran that has moved from ideology to ambition relying on aggression and cooperation etc. In post-revolution period Iran's foreign policy is often described as "as conflict-cooperation or aggressive moderate continua".[2] It has oscillated between aggressiveness and accommodation under different administrations. To some scholars, this vacillation has been due to external pressures however some scholars view domestic factors as more important in determining state preferences and choices.

This study takes inferences "from here we begin"[3] for the theoretical and conceptual basis of Iran's Foreign Policy. Lawson argued that interstate relations in the Gulf region are characterized by rivalries more than by cooperation. Iran remains deeply embedded in the security concerns, the absence of any other superpower that can challenge US global domination, and the spiral of the arms race in the Middle East, deep-seated rivalries within the Middle East, nuclear imbroglio, and the emergence of a new, weak state, along Iran's northern border, and a number of other factors. At the same time, the Islamic Republic's economy is also suffering from the adverse effects of the ongoing "shortcomings and irregularities," but the government is struggling with the increasing fragmentation and the dissatisfaction of the people.[4] The aggregation of these inner and outer difficulties has put Leadership of Iran under tremendous pressure to make decisions that would bring out Iran from strategic vulnerability on one hand and to advance the Islamic revolution on the other. The overall examination of Iran's foreign policy theory and practice reveals that the overriding thrust of Iranian foreign policy continues to derive from 'certain grand strategic preferences that transcend the faultlines of day-to-day politics'.[5]

Warnaar argued that studies of Iranian foreign policy point to the need for an approach that recognizes not just the relevance of ideas for foreign policy, but also acknowledges the social construction of the world relevant to foreign policy behavior, to allow for a better understanding of how Iranian foreign policy is made possible.[6] In

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1 May Darwich, and Juliet Kaarbo,'IR in the Middle East : Foreign policy analysis in theoretical approaches', *International Relations*, 34(2),(Sage Publications, 2020), 227

2 Haji Amir Yousefi, "Political Culture and Irans Foreign Policy: A Comparative Study of Irans Foreign Policy during Ahmadinejad and Rouhani." *World Sociopolitical Studies*, 2(2), (2018), 225-245

3 Fred H. Lawson,. "From here we begin: A survey of scholarship on the international relations of the gulf."36, no. 3, 2009.pp 337-357

4 Ibid.p. 339

5 Ibid.p.341

6 M. Warnaar, Studying Iranian Foreign Policy: A Constructivist Approach. In: *Iranian Foreign Policy during Ahmadinejad*. (Palgrave Macmillan, 2013)

reality, Iran and Iranians hold a nostalgic self-perception about Iran's status and role in international affairs.[7]

Iran's East Policy-An Overview

Deterioration of U.S Iran relations and their long-standing animosity following the Islamic revolution of Iran in 1979 has been a crystal-clear trend dominating U.S-Iran relations. This Islamic revolution also disturbed the regional order and also ruined the slowly emerging alliance of moderate forces in the region.[8] Ostensibly, the fundamental guiding principle of revolutionary Iran was Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's slogan "Na Sharq, Na Gharb. Faqat Jamhuri-ye-Islami.[9] Practically, Iran had to suffer for saying no to US dictates and because it had pursued its interests in accordance with a strict independence motto that grew out of the revolution.[10] However, In the post-revolution period, Iran succeeded in nurturing close ties with the ruling governments of the regional countries. It was because Iran had to lean towards the East to find allies to bear the brunt of sanctions and containment measures inflicted by the west. Following the Islamic revolution of Iran's foreign policy was premised on two fundamental tenets. Iran employed fiery rhetoric against the U.S to achieve foreign policy independence and turned eastwards. This eastward tilt was rational as well as necessary for Iran to prevent its crumbling. This Eastward tilt has morphed into a substantial policy especially since the 'Look to the East policy' in 2005.[11] This look to the east policy was aimed at reviving relations with Moscow, Beijing, and New Delhi to evade the west's containment efforts. This East approach was particularly intensified as the result of contemporary U.S maximum pressure efforts that Iran accelerated its regional diplomatic outreach.

Iran's look to the East policy: Prospects and Challenges:

Though Iran's relationship with eastern countries encompasses over centuries however there were substantial ups and downs after the triumph of the Islamic Revolution in 1979. In ASEAN states like Malaysia and Indonesia, Islamic movements braced the Iranian chronicle of creating a new

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7 Arshin Adib Moghaddam, "Islamic Utopian Romanticism and the Foreign Policy Culture of Iran," *Critical Middle Eastern Studies* 14(3), 267

8 Raymond A. Hinnebusch, and Anoushiravan Ehteshami, eds. *The foreign policies of Middle East states*. (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002), 283-309

9 Haleh Vaziri, "Iran's Nuclear Quest: Motivations and Consequences." *The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Regime*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1998), 315

10 Arshin Adib Moghaddam, "After the West: Critical Movements in the Discipline of International Relations." Int'l Stud. J. 15 (2018), 43

11 Mohsen Shariatinia, "Iran-China Relations: An overview of critical factors." *Iranian Review of Foreign Affairs* 1(4), (2011), 57-85

world order based on Islamic Justice but it was offset by Saudi investment.[12] Since 1994, Malaysia has invested heavily in Iranian oil reserves. Both states went through a series of negotiations and treaties for outspreading bilateral relations. After the look east policy of Iran, a surge increase in bilateral trade was observed. The Iranian exports to Malaysia amplified from $27 million to $178 million between 2005-2007 but afterward, a sharp decline and fluctuation were observed.[13] Despite US sanctions, Malaysia continued to back and assist Iran. The Nikki Asian review proclaimed in 2019 that Iranian oil is still supplied immensely in Malaysia through the strait of Malaca underhandedly through Chinese embargoes. This prerogative was further reinforced by the shipping data that echoed a surge intensification in 86% of oil shipments between China and Malaysia through Kuala Sungai Linggi port.[14] Currently, Mahatir Mohammad sturdily supported the Iranian regime and Malaysia acted as a duct with the support of China for the incessant flow of Iranian oil in the eastern client states. The bilateral interests of Malaysia and Iran both converge on manifold fronts for instance, ideological, political, religious, and economic. Malaysia contemplates the dependence of Muslim states on the west as quite devastating. In an exertion to condense this growing dependence, internal chaos, and inefficiency within Muslim states Malaysia along with Iran and Turkey opted for the Kaula Lumpur summit.[15] The real challenge for Malaysia and Iran is constantly snowballing US pressure and strict sanctions over client states. Moreover, lately, Mahatir Mohammad has faced internal political chaos and was barred or excluded from his own political party.[16] The power grappling in Malaysia, withdrawal of the US from JCPOA, the mounting investment, and concentration of the US in the south China sea deceptively made the imminent bilateral relations dreary and quite unpredictable.

Another Asian state Japan with a robust economy relied deeply on Iranian oil before US sanctions due to its budding industrial needs and the

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[12] John Calabrese, "*Iran's Economic outreach to South East Asia*," (Middle East Institute 2016). Retrieved from: https://www.mei.edu/publications/irans-economic-outreach-southeast-asia. Accessed September 9, 2020

[13] Ibid.

[14] Damon Evans, "Iranian oil flowing past Malaysia on way to Asian customers." *Nikki Asian Review*, (2019). Retrieved from: https://asia.nikkei.com/Politics/International-relations/Iranian-oil-flowing-past-Malaysia-on-way-to-Asian-customers. Accessed September 9, 2020

[15] "Kuala Lumpur Summit: Five major issues facing Muslim world." (Al Jazeera, 2019). https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/12/kl-summit-major-issues-facing-muslim-world-191217053320764.html. Accessed September 9, 2020.

[16] "Ex-Malaysia PM Mahathir Mohamad expelled from own political party." (Aljazeera, 2020). Retrieved from: https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/05/malaysia-pm-mahathir-mohamad-expelled-political-party-200528122220666.html. Accessed September 9, 2020.

trade through the geostrategically important strait of Hormuz. After 1979, the foremost oil shipments of Iran were directed to Japan. Recently, Japan at times resisted the US narrative and arrangements on Iran. Japan tried hard for dispute resolution between the US and Iran but remained unsuccessful in any breakthrough.[17] In October 2018, Japan's ambassador to Iran stressed the importance of bilateral relations between both states and articulated confidence in the Iranian future. In 2019, Iranian President Rouhani visited Japan and conversed matters pertaining to bilateral relations and trade between both states. Japanese Prime Minister Abe also visited Arab states in June 2019, in the milieu of escalating Arab-Iranian tensions. Japan faced a major dilemma over the US maximum pressure strategy, trade tussle between China and the US, and the possible future disruption of oil in case of obstruction of the strait of Hormuz that could plunge its economy into deeper recession (due to oil prices and decline in imports).[18] Japan seems to be trapped between this rancorous spiral as on one hand it is a US ally and on other hand, it is enormously reliant on fossil fuels and oil. The mounting incongruity between Japan and the US over matters concerning trade and security seems palpable. Iran sensibly used this breach in the strategic thinking of Japan for its advantage.

Iran's looks to east policy yielded maximum benefits in bilateral relations with Moscow and Beijing. Moscow arrived at a bilateral trade arrangement with Iran in 2019 and assisted Iran in face of US sanctions. Moreover, the interests of both states are congregating in the Caspian Sea and energy cooperation in the immediate future.[19] Moscow and Iran are now cronies in the military alliance functioning in Syria despite variances in inclusive end goals. The perceived peril and potential impacts of sanctions and apparent menace of internal stability assemble the interests of both states concerning shared objectives.[20] Russia and Iran opted for greater

[17] Cary Baird, "Sanctions on Iran create diplomatic headache, rather than economic catastrophe, for oil-dependent Japan." *The Japan Times* (2018). Retrieved from: https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2018/06/27/business/sanctions-iran-create-diplomatic-headache-rather-economic-catastrophe-oil-dependent-japan/.Accessed September 9, 2020.

[18] William Pesek,"Trump's Iran adventure has Japan over a barrel." *Asia Times* (2020).. Retrieved from: https://asiatimes.com/2020/01/trumps-iran-adventure-has-japan-over-a-barrel/. Accessed September 9, 2020

[19] Nicole Franiok, "Defining the Russia Iran relation." *ASP American security Project.* (2020). Retrieved from: https://www.americansecurityproject.org/defining-the-russia-iran-relationship/ Accessed September 9, 2020

[20] Nikolay Kozhanov, "*Russia's Relations with Iran*" (The Washington Institute for near East policy, 2012). Retrieved from: https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/uploads/Documents/pubs/PolicyFocus120.pdf. Accessed September 9, 2020.

easternization for facing the western pressure and purging of isolation that made the bilateral relationship more concrete.

In all three cases stated above in the setting of look east policy of Iran an obvious seamless merger and intermingling of oil diplomacy, regional stability, ideological convergence, economical interests, and geostrategic thinking remains evident within all eastern players. Each one is backing others for its own shared goals and objectives. The interdependence in the globalized world is an undeniable fact.

II-China-Iran Bilateral Relations

History of China-Iran Relations (since ancient times)

The historical relations between Iran and China started at the end of 200 BCE. Chinese dynasties including Hans, Yuan, Ming, and Song interacted with the ancient Persian empire (Anxi or Parthia) through a famous Silk trade route. The Persian products were disseminated to the central Asian states after they landed in China while Chinese products were moved towards Africa and the Middle East through Iran. In the book of Liang, an ancient olden Chinese book chronicles projected that joint combats were fought by Chinese and Persian forces (Sassanians) in face of aggressive Heptalites and nomadic Turks.[21] Both states conjoined with each other for offering security to the trade caravans for reciprocated benefit. In post-Islamic retro the only major skirmish aroused over the region of Syr Darya otherwise both states subsisted tranquility and preserved cordial relations along with cultural contacts like Polo.[22] During the Yuan regime, several Persian journeyed to China. Persian was proclaimed as one of the official languages of the Yuan dynasty. In Beijing, Muslim Academia was also erected.[23] Iranian astrophysicists worked during the Ming dynasty in China. The cultural connections were further amplified and partially influenced artwork and literary writings in Iran and China. The intermarriages were also begun in 1376 amongst distinguished families of both countries. Later on, the dealings were downcasted and shadowed by the upsurge of Imperialism and subjugation by western powers.

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[21] Macurie Fishberg, "*Materials for Physical Anthropolgy of Eastern Jews.*" (American Anthropolgical Association, 1907), 1. Retrieved from: https://books.google.com.pk/books?id=pfIQnqoQz0oC&pg=PA233&redir_esc=y. Accessed September 9, 2020

[22] John W Garver, "Twenty Centuries of Friendly Cooperation: The Sino-Iranian Relationship." (the Globalist Rethinking Globalization, 2006). Retrieved from: https://www.theglobalist.com/twenty-centuries-of-friendly-cooperation-the-sino-iranian-relationship/. Accessed September 9, 2020

23 *Chinese-Iranian Relations viii. Persian Language and Literature in China*, (2019). Retrieved from: https://iranicaonline.org/articles/chinese-iranian-viii, Accessed September 9, 2020

China-Iran Relations 1949-1978:

In 1935 Persia got its name changed with Iran. During the initial years of the cold war, Iran aligned its foreign policy with the west to avoid getting entangled under communism.[24] Due to this reason, Iran showed its reluctance to accord formal recognition to China in 1949 and to support China's entry into the UN. China's policy towards Iran was based on Iran's moves.

In the mid 14th century, the Chinese code of conduct towards Persia was very clear due to ideological differences. Persia adopted its pro-west foreign policy very consciously and deliberately.[25] There are myriads of examples in the history of such behavior e.g. China braced Muhammad Musaddaq's decision of the nationalization of the Persian oil industry. The reason to hold up this decision was to support the resistance of British and American Imperial policy. Although the U.S. gave a strong reaction to this in the form of supporting a coup d'état in August 1953 and toppled Mosaddeq's government that was a move against the Soviet Union.[26] China strongly opposed and curbed anti-communist alliances not only in Iran but in Africa and other third-world countries as well. Persia found China less dominant than the Soviet Union and comparatively mild towards third world countries generally and towards Persia particularly.

Post-1979 China-Iran Relations

Firstly the post-Islamic Revolution period witnessed a steady drop in close ties between China and Iran that remained encapsulated, convoluted, and constricted by Chinese prior support for Shah.[27] Though China immediately accepted the new setup and strived to mend its relationship with Iran by applying obsequious diplomacy, it remained a hard nut to crack. During the 1980's Iran-Iraq war China supplied almost 70% of the overall arsenals to Iran utilized in the war but proclaimed neutrality that enraged the Iranian administration. China dealt with it by abetting a war-wrenched Iran in the reconstruction phase by erecting Tehran underpasses, barrages, and

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[24] Mohajer, Parviz. "*Chinese-Iranian Relations v. Diplomatic and Commercial Relations, 1949-90*", no.4, 438-44

25 Morris Mossabi, "china Among Equals: Middle Kingdom and its Neighbours, 10th to 14th Century". (University of California Press, 1983), 246

[26] Charles Peter Melville, "*Safavid Persia: The History and Politics of An Islamic Society*", 224.

27 Brandon J. Gentry, "The Dragon and the Magi: Burgeoning Sino-Iranian Relations in the 21st Century." *The China and Eurasian Platform quarterly* 3 (3) (2005), 111-125. Retrieved from: chrome-extension://padcapdkhelngdelppbbjmkmkfceoikg/content/pdf/viewer/viewer.html?file=https%3A%2F%2Fd1wqtxts1xzle7.cloudfront.net%2F6592801%2F12_dragon_magi_burgeoning.pdf%3Fresponse-content-disposition%3Dinline%253B%2Bfilename%253DThe_Dragon_and_the_Ma. Accessed September 4, 2020

fisheries, etc. Moreover, on the economic front in the post-revolution period, many conventional collaborators from the US and UK were driven out generating an ample void and opportunity for Chinese traders. So, bilateral trade rose up to new elevations approximately $627 million to $1,627 billion.[28] The bond was further intensified and diversified after the 1989 official visit of Ayat-Ullah-Kohmeini to the People's Republic of China starting a long-term energy deals-a a win-win situation for both countries. In 1992, despite pressure from the western allies, China signed "a nuclear cooperation agreement with Iran". China provided a security curtain to the Iran in UN security council and refused to support the proposed sanctions by the Bill Clinton administration in 1996. During this period the global interests of both states started to converge under, the umbrella of anti-imperial sentiments and third world slogans. Moreover, the growing cult of Iranian followers in the Middle East made Iran a potential partner for China in regional affairs.[29]

Secondly, in the post 9/11 period, the vulnerability of Iran surged up after the consecutive invasion of Afghanistan in 2001 and Iraq in 2003. Iran tried to negotiate with the US administration on all matters including Hezbullah and their weapons of mass destruction but the Bush administration replied that "we don't enunciate with evil" ending any hope for future negotiations that pushed Iran towards greater collaboration with China. While China on the other hand was calculating the relative importance of Iran's geostrategic position in the Persian Gulf and its oil resources. Therefore, this interdependence proved to be the start of a new beginning in the bilateral relationship between Iran and China. In the backdrop of US sanctions, pressure and the growing isolation of Iran China became the biggest trading partner of Iran under its new economic policy of "going out". China invested heavily in the major energy, technology, and infrastructure sectors of Iran. In 2001 the net trade between both countries was approximately $3.3 billion but in 2008 it rosed up to $25 billion. In the next four years, it was doubled to $50 billion.[30]China remained actively

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[28] Lubricated with Oil: Iran-China Relationsina Changing World." *Middle East Policy* 10 (2): 70 (2008). Retrieved from: chrome-extension://padcapdkhelngdelppbbjmkmkfceoikg/content/pdf/viewer/viewer.html?file=https%3A%2F%2Fd1wqtxts1xzle7.cloudfront.net%2F49019279%2Fj.1475-4967.2008.00350.x20160921-25592-14irkds.pdf%3F1474486861%3D%26response-content-disposition%3Dinline%253. Accessed November 4, 2020

[29] John W. Garver, *China and Iran Ancient partners in Post imperial world*, (University of Washington, 2006). Retrieved from: https://books.google.de/books?hl=en&lr=&id=CPMoRVo3fSwC&oi=fnd&pg=PR5&dq=sino+iranian+relations+before+Islamic+Revolution+in+iran&ots=z6DRxu1Hvk&sig=7JOxDAsldUAh_cHBxj5wtPLrwwA&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false. Accessed September 4, 2020

[30] Zamenah, Radio, "*Iran and China expanded trade relations*." (Payvand, 2012). Retrieved from:http://www.payvand.com/news/12/apr/1001.html. Accessed September 4, 2020

engaged in the exploration and digging in the Azadegan oil field and the Yadavaran oil field and successfully negotiated an LNG deal of $70 to $100 billion with Iran for the next 30 years.[31]Moreover, China assisted Iran in developing its oil and gas infrastructure in Neka and the Caspian sea. Since 2016, significant progress is made on the connectivity routes via train between both countries, and Xi Jinping during his trip announced extensive backing for Iran's permanent SCO membership. In 2019, Iran officially became part of BRI.

China-Iran Deal:

China Iran's being negotiated deal worth the US $400 billion is ringing alarms for the US and the countries of the region. Both states are striving for a strategic partnership. This study asserts that their relationship stretches back to thousands of years in fact centuries and it is not a new move to counter the US. Being cognizant of the above-mentioned cues it is foreseeable that China and Iran remained close partners and gradually developed their relationship based on their asymmetric interdependence and geostrategic interests in the paradigm of game theory. Both states focus on finite as well as infinite goals (globally and regionally) and develop their foreign policy according to the realist approach.

The proposed deal is perceived as a major threat against the interests of the US and its allies particularly India, Israel, and Arab states. Washington post viewed it as the failure of maximum pressure tactics of the US administration but in reality, both states are endeavoring to deepen the already existing relationships that could generate both winners and losers but it will be wrong to confine it to merely curtailing the US. It's important to understand that this deal is overestimated and the core purpose is misapprehended and misconceived. It's not a secret move by China and Iran indeed it was a much-awaited draft of a comprehensive strategic partnership between both states since 2016. Moreover, it's important to understand that China enjoys this level of bilateral relations with many Arab states with huge investments under Chinese Arab policy.

Since the Hans dynasty period, the bilateral relationship between the two oldest world civilizations remained intact through a silk trade route. Currently, under this proposed deal, China is securing the third vital pillar of its foreign policy core interests related to economic development. This long-

[31] Lubricated with Oil: Iran-China Relationsina Changing World." *Middle East Policy* 10 (2) (2008), 70. Retrieved from: chrome-extension://padcapdkhelngde lppbbjmkmkfceoikg/content/pdf/viewer/viewer.html?file=https%3A%2F%2Fd1wqtxts 1xzle7.cloudfront.net%2F49019279%2Fj.1475-4967.2008.00350.x20160921-25592-14irkds.pdf%3F1474486861%3D%26response-content-disposition%3Dinline %253. Accessed November 4, 2020

term deal if pursued will provide energy security to China with a greater hold in the geostrategically important Persian Gulf.[32] This deal will also directly attach Afghanistan with the BRI project. Moreover, It will reduce Chinese dependence on maritime chokepoints in case of any blockade. This deal will provide a lifeline to the dying Iranian economy with a leverage and support mechanism in the face of US sanctions.

Easternization is not a new phenomenon. The countries of the region are actively collaborating with one another on diverse fronts under BRI. The Iran-China deal is also linked with this larger picture. Due to the growing tensions with the US, China is seeking greater inclusiveness in its own neighborhood. China is also keenly aiming to build the Bandar-e-Jack port of Iran located in the strait of Hormuz-a potentially important oil loading site in the future.[33] China is seeking new markets for its 5G infrastructure that is slammed off in the west and the US. So, the primary purpose strongly adheres to economic prosperity and greater regional cohesiveness. The secondary factors could be attached to curtailing US influence by supporting Iran but again this is not a new tactic or approach. Indeed it's just a new episode of the look east policy of Iran.

The Chinese involvement and collaboration on the military front also commenced in late 1980 and continued in the form of worm silk missiles and assistance in the training of Iranian military forces. China also provided a lot of advanced weapons and helped Iran in the development of its nuclear program through technological assistance since 1992. So, under this new deal, China further strengthened existing bilateral defense ties between both countries. The proposed threat of deployment of Chinese forces in Iran doesn't seem conceivable as it could drain the relations with Arab states.

The Chinese investment in infrastructure projects in the post-revolution period remained a common practice. China reconstructed Iranian subways and dams after the destructive Iranian-Iraqi war. Moreover, China invested $26.9 billion in Iran during 2005-2019 in this sector.[34]So, it is an old precedent with a new disguise to strengthen close collaboration between both countries.

The interests of both states converged under Beijing's third world theory and the amoral mentality but it is largely glued with civilizational

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[32]Alam Saleh,"Iran's pact with China is a bad news for the west." *Foreign Policy,* (2020). https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/08/09/irans-pact-with-china-is-bad-news-for-the-west/. Accessed September 4, 2020.

[33]Navtej Sarna, "Neither East Nor West, Only China." *Hindustan Times.* (2020). Retrieved from: https://www.hindustantimes.com/analysis/neither-east-nor-west-only-china/story-1R51QEx2HRos1s2RKNIPbM.html. Accessed September 4, 2020

[34] Rupert Stone,"Don't believe the hype about China Iran deal ." *TRT World,* (2020) Retrieved from: https://www.trtworld.com/opinion/don-t-believe-the-hype-about-the-china-iran-deal-38436. Accessed September 4, 2020

solidarity and reciprocal collaboration on diverse fronts. Through this deal, Beijing is trying to influence the evolution of power structure in the world.

China-Iran Deal: How it is a move to counter the US?

China's Iran deal cannot be understood in segregation, it is molded and cemented by both exertions to counter the US and by the mutuality of core interests over the discourse of the time. Though the budding Chinese sustenance for Iran is not newfangled ut it gaudily compromised US deterrence power. The chain of cause and effect can be sketched out in this power tussle that fashioned a confrontational and aggressive relationship with the US.[35] So, this new effort is perceived to be undermining US hegemonic status. The mounting influence of China in the Middle East, Africa, and Iran endangered US interests. Chinese clasp and investment in major energy, infrastructure, and telecommunication projects along with the grip on maritime strategic chock points like the strait of Hormuz apparently on one side secured Chinese economic future and increased the world's dependency on China while on the flip side it undermined and dented US efforts to isolate or curtail Chinese footprint in the region. This deal if followed will stipulate breathing space to the putrefying and crumbling Iranian economy despite US maximum pressure tactics therefore, it will increase the regional and global stature of Iran. In the war of perception and propaganda, it will resonate with a negative connotation for the US in immediate future. Moreover, this deal replicates the importance of coexistence and multilateralism instead of aggressive unilateralism in the 21st century.

Conclusion:

Iran and China are the old regional partners. West and particularly U.S. media created the hype of the recently held Iran-China deal that was actually under consideration for four years. Iran has already adopted a policy to strengthen relations with countries in the region. Pertaining to its relations with China, it is more proactive. From defense to economy and development to politics China and Iran are planning to strengthen ties at all levels due to rapidly changing geopolitics in the future. China is not particular towards Iran albeit it has developed the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) to spread its footprint through investment and development all over the world ranging from small islands to the big countries. Iran also signed BRI and enthusiastically supported the idea on different forums since its inception. It is quite obvious in the era of globalization that bilateral relations do affect not only regional but international politics as well. Hence China's billions of

[35]Alam Saleh,"Iran's pact with China is a bad news for the west." *Foreign Policy.* (2020). Retrieved from:https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/08/09/irans-pact-with-china-is-bad-news-for-the-west/. Accessed September 4, 2020

dollars investment pledge to Iran shook the other countries particularly those who are in the anti-Iranian block and are involved to isolate and try to isolate Iran from one way or the other. New York Times revealed that the Sino-Iran agreement draft is acquired even before the meetings were concluded and claimed they are cooperating in the areas of telecommunication, banking, and connectivity through ports, railways, and roads, which is so true. There is a wide range of cooperation areas between the two countries so is the military cooperation which is taken in a pejorative sense by the west. The U.S. takes every move of china as a competition be it defense-related or other than that. History is revising itself the U.S. had the curtailment policy for the Soviet Union in the past now it has the same policy for China in every region be it Asia, the Middle East, Africa, or any other part of the world. U.S. takes China's BRI as a real challenge and is afraid of its expansion day by day hence Iran's entry into it is intolerable for her.

This is a reality that China is growing its influence rapidly than ever before not only in East Asia and Africa but also in the Middle East, Iran is part of it. The U.S. who has been a sole superpower for decades feeling a challenge to its hegemony. This time Iran-China Partnership is entirely based on mutual benefits. Iran will refrain itself from being isolated in World politics and on the other side, China will be ensured in terms of energy supplies of the Persian Gulf which its energy needs heavily rely upon. China is undoubtedly unstoppable but its expansionist designs are very liberal in nature. China is using its soft power unlike the U.S. to pursue its vision as a rising new power. The U.S. should adopt coercive measures neither tactically nor strategically in response to curtail China. If it does so it will have to pay an unrepairable cost. Albeit the U.S. also should try to consolidate its hegemony through the use of the same soft power tactics internationally. The U.S. should propose a solution to the problems of developing countries that are more in number than the developed countries. These solutions should be formed to cater to their problems such as poverty, health, education, infrastructure, and employment.

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Central Asia Journal No. 88, Summer 2021

POLITICAL INSTABILITIES IN AFGHANISTAN: IMPLICATIONS FOR PAKISTAN

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Abstract

Pakistan and Afghanistan share the longest border in the northwest with each other. Afghanistan is the most influential factor for Pakistani policymakers in terms of foreign policy. Relations of both the countries have not been cordial since the inception of Pakistan.

Internal circumstances affected Pakistan in one way or another during the Cold War era and the invasion of the USSR. Between different powers, this country became a focus regarding of interest after 9/11. The western border has become very uncertain due to Indian's involvement. With relation to Afghanistan, Pakistan has always been a victim of instability. Pakistan's internal peace has greatly disrupted by the movement across the border. By smuggling weapons, drugs and terrorists anti-state actors have always used this border to destabilize the country. Being already weakened country, Pakistan overwhelmed by migration of a large number of Afghan citizens.

To assess the effects of the instability in Afghanistan on Pakistan, numerous attempts are being made. In addition, this study will aim at the classification of the features and political objectives of the players concerned in the conflict on violence in Afghanistan. It will analyze the evolution of the peace course in Afghanistan as well as its significance for regional solidity.

Keywords: Political, Instabilities, Afghanistan, Implications, Pakistan

Introduction

Afghanistan has faced serious challenges of instability over the past three decades because of internal gangs and wars. First of all, since Sardar Dauod took over the government from his cousin, the internal racial-hostile power between different groups and secondarily, different blows given from

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time to time by USSR support groups. A war between the Mujahideen and the Red Army began when in 1979 the USSR entered its troops in Afghanistan which ultimately caused devastation, shattered the infrastructure and turned the country underdeveloped. People had to take refuge to different countries for saving their families. To find food and shelter for their children, they struggled hard. Afterwards, in the country, a long civil war began for making the path to peace and stability even more difficult. As a result of this war, different groups arose. For the sake of their own interest, these militant groups were funded by various elements. The US invasion of the country ushered in another destructive era throughout the region in the early 21st Century. One of the Border States, Pakistan that suffered mainly.

A Political History of Afghanistan

A deep-rooted political culture has yielded by the history of Afghanistan that influences its future development. The continual of power of the court which directed at a single ruler determining policy and distributing resources with which all rulers seek approval is the most striking feature. The intention of the government outside the rebels is to replace with their own rather than changing them. The only practical way to address spatial opinion according to the experience of Afghanistan is Max Weber's vision of such a system as a patrimonial and unstable space susceptible to riots, coups and rebellions which has seen only two transfers since 1901 when Amir Habibullah Khan inherited the throne and in 2004 Ashraf Ghani succeeded Hamid Karzai.

Its naissance came into being as a nation after and the establishment of the last of the Afghan empires in 1747 when Ahmad Shah Durrani conquered the area, although the area has been inhabited within the borders of Afghanistan for centuries.

Afghanistan was involved in 'THE GREAT GAME' called by the historians between Russia and Britain, a struggle for influence for Central and South Asia from 1830-1895. In the First Anglo-Afghan War (1839-1842) and the Second Anglo-Afghan War (1878-1880), this conflict led to Great Britain invading Afghanistan.[1] Russia increased its interest in Afghanistan and left control of its foreign policy to Britain by signing a treaty Britain in 1907.

During the summer of 1919, the Third Anglo-Afghan War took place which led to independence of Afghanistan from the British Empire. Afghanistan was declared as asovereign and completely independent state by King Amanullah Khan whose modernizing reforms (abolition of slavery, women not forced to wear the hijab, mixed schools, etc.) lasted only a decade.

[1] A.Z. Hilali, *US–Pakistan relationship: Soviet Intervention in Afghanistan*, (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Co., 2005), 198

The last King of Afghanistan who ruled from 1933 to 1973 was Mohammad Zahir Shah, the second cousin of King Amanullah Khan. A new constitution that transformed the country into a modern democracy, with free elections, parliament, civil rights, the emancipation of women and universal suffrage was implemented by Zahir Shah in 1964. Mohammad Daoud Khan, his cousin and former Prime Minister, while in Italy for eye surgery in 1974 staged a coup, formed a Republican government and became the first president of Afghanistan. Because of this Democratic Communist People's Party of Afghanistan which took power in 1978, this republic was short-lived which ultimately led to a civil war between the new Soviet-backed government and the Mujahideen.

A standstill has to occur by the Afghan Civil War. The Soviet territories bombed territories, asking about 6 million Afghans to seek refuge in Iran and Pakistan in order to attempt to destroy the Mujahideen. The US entered the conflict by launching the Central Intelligence Agency Operation Cyclone in 1980 for arming and funding the Afghan rebels. In order to the defeat of the Soviet Union, US involvement directly contributed whereas in 1988, the Soviet Union signed an agreement within which it agreed for withdrawing of its troops.[2]

A UN-sponsored Bonn conference in 2001 set up a process for the political reconstruction of the country following the overthrow of the Taliban in Afghanistan by the US coalition. The adoption of a new constitution, presidential elections in 2004 and a national assembly in 2005 was led by it. The first democratically elected president of Afghanistan, Hamid Karzai in December 2004 and then re-elected for a second shift in 2009.

Between the two best winners, Abdullah and Ashraf Ghani, the presidential elections were held in 2014. His associate questioned the results and exchanged an accusation of fraud during the summer of 2014 by which a US-led diplomatic intervention was
generated including an articulated audit as well as a legislative negotiation linking the two edges according to the CIA database.

In September, Ghani and Abdullah undertaken for launching the National Unity Administration in which Ghani was entitled as President and Abdullah against a newly constituted post of CEO. The Ghani government signed the US and Afghan bilateral security agreement and the agreement on the status of NATO forces on the day after the inauguration which offered the permissible grounds to hold the post-2014 existence of army in Afghanistan.

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[2] Amstutz, J. Bruce, *Afghanistan: The First Five Years of Soviet Occupation*, (Washington D.C.: NDU Press, 1986), 127

Strategic Importance of Afghanistan

The involvement of neighboring states and world powers is the main cause of instability in Afghanistan. By setting up a puppet government for exploitation of the geostrategic and geopolitical significance of Afghanistan and having contact with CARs rich in energy, they want to polish their own axis.

USA's Interests

They want a permanent airbase to explore the resources of Central Asia at one side but on the other hand, the United States wants to make a strong position in Afghanistan to include Russia, China, Iran and Pakistan. For each state that wants to use in its own way, Afghanistan is a gateway.[3]

USSR's Interest

Access to oil resources in the Middle East and reach of hot water is wanted by the USSR. It was a focal point between the USSR and British India for the previous century; finally, an agreement was reached between the two that granted the status of a buffer state. The Cold War began between two superpowers after World War II when the USSR attacked Afghanistan; the United States had a policy of two to stop them at the Afghan border of PAK. Assisted by of Saudi Arabia and Pakistan, he achieved his antagonistic plans to stop the USSR.

Amongst the crucial routes of trade and premeditated sites of army around the globe is The Khyber Pass, located between Afghanistan and Pakistan. The cultural crossroads of the Indian, Persian and Chinese civilizations are known as the olden set of connections of routes for trading extended to 4000 kilometers. Natural resources, gas, minerals and oil (according to some estimates worth more than a trillion US dollars) are found to be rich in the country.

Interests of External Players in Afghanistan and Threats in Pakistan

General

Because of its geostrategic importance, world powers in the South Asian region have for all time had an exceptional concentration. There is found clear focus on interests of various international and local actors. The interests of external actors in Afghanistan have a direct impact on the interests and security of Pakistan as an immediate neighbor.

Russia

After the revolt in Russia in 1917, the Soviet Union had been insightful to its borders and a cornerstone of its international relations was to

[3] Mohammad Yousaf, & Mark Adkin, *Afghanistan, the bear trap: the defeat of a superpower*, (Casemate, 1992), 159

stabilize its border territories. In 1940, the Baltic states were taken over. After World War II, Eastern European states were insured. For providing a vulnerable window to its borders for anti-Soviet forces, the loss of Afghanistan would amount. Soviet fighting forces moved into Afghanistan on a large scale, assassinating President Hafiz Ullah Amin and installing Babrak Karmal as the new ruler of Afghanistan on December 28, 1979.[4]
The Moscow wanted to expand its influence beyond Afghan borders with the argument that the Soviet Union would be liable in employing Afghanistan as a prospective game for destabilization of Pakistan in order to gain the desired access to a water port by consolidating its position in Afghanistan. Approximately three million Afghans migrated to Pakistan for the period of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Out of whole Afghan refugee population about 70% residues on Pakistani territory in the wake of the volatile situation that continues in Afghanistan hampering Pakistan's fragile economy.

USA

When Russians withdrew Afghanistan, interests of US were curtailed in Afghanistan and Pakistan. Concluded by the report of the 9/11 Commission, the failure of the United States for stabilizing Afghanistan would reduce a security of the United States to let the country for becoming a protected asylum for terrorists and scandalous ones.[5] Importance of Afghanistan, however, was accepted as the oil loaded whilst states of Central Asia were alluring too to be overlooked. To sum up, American benefits in the constituency are as follows:

1) The aim of presence of US troops in Afghanistan was at an anticipated course of action to control China.
2) Stopping the extension of spiritual fundamentalism from Afghanistan.
3) Closely monitoring the cooperation scaffold among China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan (i.e. Shanghai association for Cooperation) leading to the institution of a Novel Bloc in the region.

The security problems for Pakistan are also created by the interests of US. The US invasion of Afghanistan in October, 2001 resulted in killing of thousands of Taliban troops. The refuge was taken in the tribal area administered by the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) in the middle of the boundary besides in divisions of the Baluchistan, Pakistani province in the west and the border province from the northwest (NWFP) to

[4] Lestwer W. Grau, Michael A. Gress, (eds.). *The Soviet Afghan-War: How a Superpower Fought and Lost.* (University Press of Kansas, 2002), 10
[5] Ahmad Shayeq Qassem, *Afghanistan's Political Stability: A Dream Unrealised.* (Ashgate Publishing, Ltd, 28 March 2013)

the east and south by the jury (religious council) of senior Taliban leaders.[6]

China

As a result of 9/11, Chinese interest in Afghanistan increased further due to American forces being there in enclosure, that is, in Afghanistan as well as the states of Central Asia states. Exterior influences free Afghanistan was wanted by China consisting of union military as this is expected to bully the solidity of the region. A great marketplace enriched with minerals and human resources was provided to China by the Central Asian States and Afghanistan. Pakistan friendly government was wished to be seen in Afghanistan by China. China has endowed billions of dollars in Pakistan regarding various ventures.

India

Good relations are maintained by India and Russia. Pleasure was taken between India and the Soviet Union in regards of tactical, martial, trade and industry and ambassadorial affairs throughout the bitter conflict. A major menace to the independence and integrity of Pakistan is India. In order to play a key role in world affairs, India wants to avail of the widespread worldwide anti-terrorist reaction to its advantage, to advance its regional and global ambitions. Creation of friction between Pakistan and Afghanistan raising controversial issues due to its influence on the Afghan government is intended by India. The offer to help Afghanistan in building a dam on the Kabul River in "Kunhar province and the Salma Dam project in Herat Province" is an example of this. Even though India is unwilling for seeing Pakistan having any financially viable settlement, it has the same opinion with the proposed project of oil and gas pipeline by Afghanistan and Pakistan in order to meet their increasing needs of energy. Yet, India wants to hold the ability to bully Pakistan through nasty LOCs from the western borders in case of oil and gas pipeline project does not take off by opening of Indian consulates in Jalalabad, Kandahar, Mazar-e-Sharif and Herat Point in this direction. Predominantly in N.W.F.P and Baluchistan, these consulates are reportedly conducting activities against Pakistan in Pakistan. Especially in the field of training, Indian businessmen are also investing heavily in Afghanistan and are likely to have control over the Afghan economy soon apart from the Indian military aid to Afghanistan.[7]

Currently, Indian shortage of energy need is 20%, possibly to raise up to 80% with the existing size of its growth. India wishes to see a government in Afghanistan that is aggressive to Pakistan for keeping it away of the energy game and creation of a two-tiered predicament in Pakistan in

[6] Christine C. Fair, Sarah J. Watson, *Pakistan's Enduring Challenges*. (University of Pennsylvania Press, 18 February 2015).

[7] A.Z. Hilali, *US-Pakistan Relationship: Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan*, (Taylor & Francis, 2017), 100

any anticipated war with India. In this context, Indian's attempt to make available an alternative aid neighborhood to Afghanistan in the course of the Iranian port of Chabahar could be seen. India wants to expand its sphere of influence to the Central Asian states to surround China as a prospective regional power. Afghanistan can act as a springboard for India, by countering China. Indian's interests of business in Afghanistan and Central Asian states also exist.

Iran:

For Iran, there are chronological and civilization motives of being fascinated in Afghanistan in addition to geostrategic causes. However, from the perspective of Iran, the Afghan concern had less for doing with the "Great Game strategy" as well as more for doing prestigiously along with nationalized safety. The official language of Afghanistan is a version of Persian language as Dari (a long border with Afghanistan) is shared by with. A large part of the Afghan population, namely the "Hazara tribes", are of Shiite foundation is additional to it. Iran and Pakistan enclosed at loggerheads at the Afghan issue to achieve the position of a dominant player.

In controlling land communications and pipelines to Central Asia, Iran has been interested so that oil is flowed via the Iranian path to Europe measured as the direct way to the West. For the outflow of oil through Pakistan, a stable Afghanistan will compete with Iran. Iran wants the Pukhtoon-dominated areas in Afghanistan to stay comparatively unbalanced for strengthening the matter for the duct channels all the way through Iran to take advantage of the transportation of hydrocarbon resources in the CAR. To ensure the protection of Iran's strategic interests in Afghanistan, Iran wants the Kabul government to be primarily non-Pashtun.[8] Iran has very serious concerns about protection of the interests of the Shiite minority in Afghanistan in opposition to the Sunni majority.

Causes of Instability:

Its center and periphery have remained essentially independent of each other, throughout the history of Afghanistan's state apparatus. The main causes of instability in Afghanistan are as follows:

1) **USSR invasion of Afghanistan:** Afghanistan was invaded by the Soviet army to support its communist government. The fight was against a resistance movement known as the Mujahideen and supported by the United States, Afghanistan, China and Saudi Arabia. The duration of the war was 11 years which destabilized the country

[8] Neamatollah Nojumi, T*he Rise of the Taliban in Afghanistan: Mass Mobilization, Civil War, and the Future of the Region* (1st ed.). (NY: Palgrave, 2002)

2) **The Civil War in the Interior:** The country was involved in a civil war in the last decade of the 20th Century that made its path to peace and stability even more difficult. The US invasion of Afghanistan and the protracted war further aggravated the social and economic situation in the country at the beginning of the 21st century.

World Trade Center:

1. On a clear Tuesday morning of 11th September 2001 at 8:45 a.m., an Airline of America 'Boeing 767' with twenty thousand gallons of fuel of plane worn-out into the "north tower of the World Trade Center in New York".
2. A huge fire pit in front of the 80th floor of the 110-storey super structured during which hundreds of people immediately killed and entrapped hundreds more on the highest story was the impact which left.
3. Broadcasting by TV cameras shown live descriptions of what was at first a strange accident as the evacuation of the tower and its twins progressed. Later than 18 minutes of the crashing of first aircraft, a second "Boeing 767", "United Airlines Flight 175", was viewed which swung piercingly toward the World Trade Center and cut through the south tower in close proximity to the 60th floor. A huge bang was caused by collision which threw burning debris to the neighboring buildings and the streets below.[9]

Pentagon Attack:

With taking off American Airlines' flight 77 above downtown Washington, DC earlier than striking into the west side of the "Pentagon's military headquarters", millions watched the events in New York.

A devastating inferno was grounded by the jet fuel of the Boeing 757 consequently collapsed the systematic part of the gigantic solid building, which is the control center of the US Department of Defense.

Twin Tower Collapse:

The repulsion in New York seized a disastrous twist as soon as the South Tower of the World Trade Center distorted into a huge obscure of dirt and smolder within less than 15 minutes after terrorists attacked the U.S. military nerve center.

The northern construction of the Twin Towers buckled at 10:30 a.m. In the collapsed looms of the World Trade Center, merely six people stayed alive. Almost 10,000 other people were treated for wounds, amongst serious ones.[10]

Cold War Era:

During the Cold War era, instability was the main cause of

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[9] Mohammed Kakar, *The Soviet Invasion and the Afghan Response, 1979–1982*, (University of California Press, 1997)

[10] Hall Gardner, *American global strategy and the 'war on terrorism*'. (Ashgate. 2007), 59

ideological warfare of the two superpowers USSR and the United States. In Afghanistan, they both had their own interests. Reaching hot water and having access to oil resources in the Middle East was the aim of the USSR whereas the restraining the USSR assisted by its partners Saudi Arabia, Pakistan and the Afghan Mujahideen was wanted by the US. Given below are the key elements that paved the way for egg hatching in Afghanistan:

a) Political and military elite
b) Population of countryside
c) Groups of rebels
d) Warlords
e) Regional spots
f) Rough terrain and mountainous areas
g) Disconnection of roads with the central government

Most young people can take up arms and join terrorist groups when the government does not provide jobs for its masses eliminate poverty and change their standard of living. In destabilizing the country, extremist thinking has also played a very crucial role. The mullahs could easily deceive innocent people in the name of religion because of the illiteracy of their people. The United States and its allies left the Mujahideen fighting the USSR after the USSR withdrew from Afghanistan.[11] However, Afghanistan could not get any attention regarding the establishment of a unity government. The fighters turned their weapons against each other which they took against foreign invaders. For more than a decade, this struggle continued. The punishments, self-imposed by the warlords were enough to speak of their cruelty and barbarism. The societal environment of Afghanistan has become ferocious, cruel and unpleasant. For there was no law so there were no signs of the rule of law. There is no concept of a central government structure.

Rise of the Taliban:

Taliban, a new group has entered the front. This word literally is meant by the students who receive religious instruction in Madrasas. Being familiar with the war tactics, many of them fought against Russia. That is why 90% of the area of Afghanistan was captured by them very quickly. Sharia'ah law was set as state law by them. There found peace and stability during the Taliban regime as compared to the past.

9/11: Tragic incident:

A large number of people were killed; a vast majority was injured and mostly affected psychologically. The twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York City were hit by two planes, third one crashed in the

[11] Boris Z. Rumer, *Central Asia: a gathering storm*? (M.E. Sharpe, 2002), 103

Pentagon on the outside Washington, DC and the fourth plane worn-out in a turf in Shanks Ville, Pennsylvania. During the September 11 terrorist attacks, major US efforts to combat terrorism were sparked by killing of nearly 3,000 people.[12]

Social and Economic Development:

Previously considered essential as a humanitarian or human rights issue but gradually became associated with threats to international security was the most serious problem of the failed state during the 1990s. As areas of failed states were judged as safe havens for terrorist groups therefore its discourse gained more urgency after the September 11 attacks. The term failed state indicates that the central government's dereliction to maintain law and order in its territory, provide basic needs to public and sustain economic and social development was indicated by the term 'Failed state'. Since the establishment of the current Afghan government, slightest has been pulled off for overcoming the constrictions that hamper the continued rekindling of hub segments of the Afghan market in spite of passing two decades. Resultantly, trapped as poverty strikes trapped the millions of Afghans across the country. Above that, the persistent and worrying issues that are holding back the stabilization of the Afghan economy are raising unemployment rate, lack of productivity growth, and lack of innovation and growth-oriented entrepreneurship.

More than 39% and another 37% of the absolute poverty of Afghans breathing hardly beyond scarcity streaks are hard details. This state of affairs is in particular unbearable for the growing jobless and unemployed youth. The rate of Afghan adolescents' being without a job posits at 40% staggeringly.

The facts reported above may not reflect the true extent of economic stagnation and unemployment as large numbers of Afghans do not have profitable earnings and opportunities to achieve it as well as their income is far below the threshold to satisfy their daily needs according to the importance for statistical insights.

Implications

The systematic social exclusion of ordinary citizens has had detrimental social consequences in addition to economic backwardness. In Afghanistan, crime and extortion are of great importance because poor people cannot find alternative viable incomes.[13] Besides, very valuable asset, the inactive army of young people is attracted by this hostile situation to join in exchange for a salary. In Afghanistan, the ranks of terrorist networks, sympathized with the infamous warlords, drug dealers and drug-related

[12] Jon Armajani, *Modern Islamist Movements: History, Religion, and Politics*, (Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 48

[13] Stephen E. Atkins, *The 9/11 Encyclopedia.* (ABC-CLIO, 2011), 540

politicians are openly operating. Further increase in dynamics and simmer deep social tensions can be caused by uncontrolled, endemic elite corruption and the seizure of resources, the dynamic poverty-crime illegality

Jobless and Uneven Growth:

The average economic growth rate has been strong doubling per capita income in more than a decade by 2002, even though the cost of greater inequality regarding distribution of income has been unpaid due to unexpected capital inflows of millions of dollars in military and development activities. The irony of the Afghan growth story did not bring prosperity to ordinary Afghans on the other hand.

Its court has more than tripled by a small political elite and its patronage network. The economic problems of the poorest are getting worse every day, the 'pi income of Afghanistan'. Almost 400,000 Afghans including educated youth, enter the Afghan labor market, but end up in long-term unemployment and are insecure every year.

Social Drawbacks:

The seriousness of the conditions in which the poorest, most marginalized and politically disconnected Afghan citizens live is revealed through the eyes of the local observer of society and development in Afghanistan who recounts his experience and observations of the lives of ordinary people.

> *According to him, "I met a retired teacher on my way to the office in Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan who briefly told his story of a year of leadership while trying to save his 10-year-old son. After a short conversation with him, the old master stood still for a moment and then, with a grim determination over his face, said innocently: I have to spend 20 working days to earn $ 100 which needed to cover the travel expenses to a secret place across the eastern border of Afghanistan to bring home her son, who was released under the supervision of the unknown kidnappers".*

The Paradox of development in Afghanistan:

A deadly interplay between poor government security, increasing crime and extreme poverty prevailing across Afghanistan is pointed by the painful tragedy of the grizzled teacher. How social exclusion and economic vulnerability interacts to jeopardize serious constraints on sustainable development and social progress is reflected by the prospective child's trial in the same way.[1414] In Afghanistan, after 2001, this gloomy situation is

[14] Edwin F. Bryant, *The quest for the origins of Vedic culture: the Indo-Aryan migration*

reflected by a development paradox. Foreign aid has had little effect on the change no matter it comprised of more than $100 billion in foreign reconstruction and development aid dumped in a conflict country.

Outcomes:

The political order after 2001 led to government-sponsored tyranny and patronage and redistribution of criminal networks that undermined important foreign aid, hampered the revival of the troubled Afghan economy, and thwarted much-needed small business operations. to create jobs and improve impoverished populations resulting from extreme poverty.
Unfortunately, the political settlement has been stubbornly upheld in Afghan society, acting as a self-sustaining development and poverty alleviation system, undermining the hopes of millions of Afghans for real economic reforms and civil and social prosperity.

Implications for Pakistan:

A brutal civil war was experienced by Afghanistan including overseas interferences in the outline of the Soviet invasion in 1979 and the US invasion in 2001. The security, national interests, economy and international image of Pakistan is affected by the critical situation in Afghanistan.

Time of Soviet Invasion:

1. Refugee's problem:

Three hundred and eighty-six refugee camps were set by Pakistan. Three million Afghan refugees were received by these camps consisting of 70% of all refugees. The basic needs to the refugees were provided by Pakistan but the Afghans were a big problem for the country. Amongst four provinces of Pakistan, Punjab and Sindh have different languages and cultures. Fears were expressed in Baluchistan by many Baloch leaders about the continued influx of migrants would distress the fine equilibrium between the Balochi and the Pakhtoons and may eventually make the Balochi a minority in spite of the owners of their province.[15] The culture, language and traditions of these Afghan refugees and the local NTFP audience were the same. This is why Afghan migrants jumbled with the home people easily but the NWFP was facing previously the crisis of joblessness. Consequently, Afghans filled streets of Peshawar, the provincial capital, some of whom even carried their weapons, wandered, sourcing traffic problems
and fearing law enforcement organizations. Serious problems such as economic burden, law and order problems were created by the refugees in Pakistan disruptions in the demographics of NWP and Baluchistan,

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debate, (Oxford University Press, 2001)
[15] Stephen Tanner, *Afghanistan: A Military History from Alexander the Great to the War against the Taliban*, (Da Capo Press, 2009), 126

overwhelming of civil services, amplified joblessness, incomplete management of undersized industry, particularly in NWFP and Baluchistan.

2. Kalashnikov Culture:

The "Kalashnikov culture" thrived as soon as the United States sent large supplies of weapons through Pakistan for arming the Mujahideen during the Soviet-Afghan war. Enormous opportunities were offered to Afghans for the illegal arms trade in the NWFP and the entrenchment of Kalashnikov culture was made in Pakistan. Near the Afghan border, there is a village, Darra Adam Khel in Pakistan which has succeeded as one of the prime illegal weapons bazaars in the world. An assortment of weapons from Japanese pistols to fast firearms, AK-47s from China and Russia, anti-tank missiles, air defense forces are filled in this market.

3. Tourism Industry:

Pakistan's tourism industry was destroyed by the war in Afghanistan. There are many beautiful places in the NWFP, Pakistan. Thousands of visitors used to visit Kaghan, Chitral, Swat valley, Narran, Hazara every year but afterwards, the visitors were afraid of visiting these spots.

4. Galemjan Culture:

KHAD exercised socio-cultural media for destabilizing Pakistani culture during 1984-86. Prostitutes, hundreds in number from Central Asia and Russia entered Peshawar (NWFP) and Quetta (Baluchistan) to corrupt society morally. As reported by The BBC program in Urdu Sarbeen the influx of more than 8,000 prostitutes from different ethnic origins (Afghan, Uzbek, Turkmen, Russian and Ukrainian). In various major cities like Lahore, Karachi and Islamabad, these prostitutes have established their networks. They used the Persian or Dari language in Peshawar. They were called as Galemjan by people of Peshawar.[16]

Post- Soviet Withdrawal Time:

Afghanistan has never seen a central political system during its history. Conventionally, local chiefs who owed their allegiance to the king confined the King's government to the center and extended to remote areas. A power vacuum was left by the hasty departure of the Soviets without the establishment of an adequate system of government that led to civil war and total anarchy with provinces controlled by local warlords. At the time of withdrawal of Soviet withdrawal, the sectional infighting and civil war was led by an assortment of leaders of Mujahideen which accumulated large amounts of weapons and creation of inflectional areas.

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[16] Christopher Wyatt, (2 September 2015). "Afghanistan in the Great War". *Asian Affairs.* 46 (3): 387–410. doi:10.1080/03068374.2015.1081001. S2CID 159788830

Pakistan was not in position to accept this civil war. It was a major threat to security of Pakistan. Therefore, efforts were made by Pakistani government to stop the civil war and its impact. Taliban established their government in Kabul early in the morning of September 27, 1996 by Continuing their march. Taliban as the legitimate government of Afghanistan were only recognized by Saudi Arabia, Pakistan and the United Arab Emirates. There were close relationships between the Taliban and Bin Laden even a family relationship. This is why Bin Laden stood by the Mujahideen, sponsored the Taliban and Mullah Muhammad Omar was married allegedly to one of his daughters.

Two resolutions were adopted by The United Nations Security Council: UNSCR 1267 (1999) and 1333 (2000), calling on the Taliban for suspension of their support to aid terrorism and handing over Bin Laden for trial. Taliban's brand of Islamic radicalism threatens to destabilize other countries in the region, including Iran, China, Uzbekistan and Pakistan.[17]

United States Invasion in Afghanistan:

After 9/11, Pakistan joined the rest of the world in the war on terror. At the same time as the US invasion of Afghanistan took place in October, 2001, thousands of Taliban fighters and almost all the intact Shu'ra-top Taliban direction sought refuge in Pakistan's Federally Controlled Tribal Area (FATA) in the hub of the boundary line as well as in parts of the Pakistani province i.e. from Baluchistan to the west and from the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) to the east and south. In Pakistan and Afghanistan, Taliban and extremist elements are working on both sides. They are assassinating thousands of civilians and law enforcement forces in different regions of Pakistan. More than 1500 people died in suicides and other attacks on civilians only from the summer of 2007 to the end of 2008. They are trying to enforce their schema on its society and to defy the constitution of Pakistan. So, military actions are launched against them and hundreds of Taliban were killed within a month.

Suicide bombing attacks:

Subsequent to 9th September 2011 attacks in the US, NATO forces launched ground attacks on Afghanistan by NATO forces which led a number of Afghan immigrants to move from Afghanistan to Pakistan. Being illiterate many of them were unemployed, and several supposedly turned into private army for spy agencies of enemy such as Indian RAW and MOSAD by Israel. Sixty suicide attacks took place which resulted in 889 casualties and 2,072 injuries, included the deadly "Marriot Blast" in 2008. Even as they moved through their own neighborhoods, Pakistanis felt a risk during this period.

[17] Angelo Rasanayagam, *Afghanistan: A Modern History*. (I.B.Tauris, 2005), 73

Afghan Peace Process:

Being really a good sign, The Afghan peace agreement reached between the United States and the Taliban bringing harmony within a war-torn region that prevailed in a very long conflict. As it gets nearer to America's involvement and strategy regarding Afghan problems, the United States is either confused or annoying to perplex other nations. Nevertheless, from the internal conditions it is clear that the feedback of the public in response to the conditions in US grown as worn-out of this extended war in Afghanistan. In relation to this, stated by the Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, "the United States will not fight forever in the cemetery of empires." Is there any possibility by which Afghanistan can get rid of such a stretched combat from side to side this peace agreement? This ceasefire can change in real terms successfully from peace on the newspapers to peace on the ground or not? Or it's the lined up in books or documents.[18] Countries are forced by these circumstances to the documentation of the United States along with its concords with diverse countries likewise Iraq, Iran, etc. Concurrences and dealings are busted by US exclusive of looking after any country, even together with parties to the agreements and offers by a review. It seems too difficult to make peace in the region along with this kind of behavior, as former US President John F. Kennedy rightly said: "Peace is not just about laws and covenants". People have it in their hearts and minds. Thus, we should not lose all our expectations on parchment and document; let us endeavor for constructing peace, a desire for peace, the desire to carry out efforts for peace in the feelings and intellects of all our community. We can believe as I do. According to me, the troubles of individuals' fate are not outside the contact of people".

Impacts for Pakistan:

In the US-Taliban peace agreement, the role of Pakistan appears to be constructive and is incredibly central by looking at its momentous position since the Soviet invasion and the 9/11 event. As Pakistan is a neighbor, apart from that he has chronological and civilizing correlation with Afghanistan has a lot of pressure on Kabul's conjugal performance. Additionally, by the invasion of Soviet on Afghanistan in 1979, it turned into the major cause of strengthening connections between public and intergovernmental relations between Islamabad and Kabul. The Washington-Islamabad-Kabul triangular connection barred the Soviet Union from assembling extra advancement. The mutual triumph of Washington-Kabul-Islamabad has led them jointly as entrusted and confirmed friends. Whilst the three nations also contained their own benefits, counting the collective or

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[18] Raghav Sharma, "*China's Afghanistan Policy: Slow Recalibration". China Report*. 46(3), (2011): 202. doi:10.1177/000944551104600303

universal benefits of every country. Peshawar (city of Pakistan and capital of the province of K.P.) was the hub of the entire actions against the Soviet Union, so that the leading characters of Afghanistan combating the Soviets came nearer to the command of Pakistan.[19]

Regional Security:

The peace agreement leaves a positive impact on local security and Pakistan if successfully implemented through rational observation of the circumstances by all stakeholders. Furthermore, in his speech to Iran, Imran Khan said that Trump also told him to mediate between Saudi Arabia and Iran. If relations between Saudi Arabia and Iran are on the road to normalization, it will also be crucial for the stability and progress of the region. However, the United States' record of solving these regional problems does not paint a rosy picture. The question arises if the United States does not want to solve the problems, then why does it publish statements that practically do not make sense? This may simply be due to the attention of regional states from one agenda to another serving the interests of the United States.

Saudi Arabia and Iran:

A hidden American agenda exists behind these kinds of declarations of normalization of the differences involving Saudi Arabia and Iran. There may be another American agenda showing the world that it desires to construct peace in the constituency by regulating stress at Iran and Saudi Arabia, but it can only be expressions which do not maintain the spirit of realistic implementation. Equally, pointing to the US objectives over Kashmir by US Government revealed fully by its relevant recent development are behind this new statement. By playing a very long role playing as troublemaker, the United States, whenever recognizes that it can pull off its nationalized concerns by cleanly putting an announcement that will never become visible, does so to accomplish its goals.

Impacts on Central Asian States:

The local financial system, constancy, sanctuary and communal welfare are contingent on the nation of Afghanistan. These days, rivalry has prolonged into the fiscal sphere and each state is striving for consolidating inexpensively. A stable Afghanistan due to its geological position can provide a transit route to many states in spite of being an enclosed country. As energy corridor between Central Asia and South Asia is one of the most important aspects of Afghanistan. Natural gas and excess electricity is produced by Central Asian states. In order to make the finest utilization of their assets, they have to utilize the soil of Afghanistan.[20] However, a state

[19] Douglas A. Borer, *Superpowers defeated: Vietnam and Afghanistan compared*. (London: Cass,1999), 216

[20] *The Soviet-Afghan War: Breaking the Hammer & Sickle* by Lester W. Grau and Ali

which is endangered by a combative assault cannot make possible such schemes and thus each infrastructural venture is dependent on the accomplishment of the procedure of Afghan peace.

Impacts on China:

In the Afghan crisis, China has become a major player as it began actively participating in world dynamics. A stable neighborhood is linked with the $1 billion BRI (Belt & Road Initiative. The expansion of CPEC (China Pakistan Economic Corridor) to Afghanistan is wanted by China, but this growth is focused to the most recent defense and solidity situation. If the process of peace splits, Afghanistan might turn into a main recipient of this vital development. The unbeaten execution of the peace process will also permit Afghanistan for working with the realms in the area to restructure its communications. Pakistan served as the second largest host realm for refugees and has about 1.4 million recorded Afghan immigrants by the facts from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) on its earth and a huge number of unregistered ones too. To welcome a large number of migrants into a nation with a breakable economy is a difficult task. Consequently, the successful return of Afghanistan will be an immense handiness for Pakistan. TAPI gas pipeline (Turkmenistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan and India) reactivation will be one more significant advantage for the area connecting four states that have been poised otherwise because of the sanctuary circumstances in Afghanistan. China has serious concerns relation to the occurrence of ISIS and other organizations of terrorism over Afghanistan and is before now confronting fanaticism in the northwestern provinces.

Conclusion and Recommendations:

Afghanistan had remained relevant not only in the regional history but also it has a global geo-strategic significance. Stability in Afghanistan would have a great impact on stability in the region. This can be achieved by following recommendations.

The present research recommends following for a peaceful future:

1) Establishment of law and order: Respect for the rule of law.
2) Recognizing and strengthening casual public foundations making decisions, resolving disputes and agreement at town level in rural areas.
3) Liability: The permission of the governors elected for limited periods must be obtained via district administrators and provincial governors. Establishment of effective ministerial legislatures in major cities in Afghanistan outside Kabul for meeting the local needs in a better way.
4) Mutual compromise upon the peace agreement.

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Central Asia Journal No. 88, Summer 2021

AN INTRODUCTION OF PASHTO MANUSCRIPTS IN THE STATE LIBRARY BERLIN, GERMANY

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Abstract

Manuscripts of Pashto classical literature are found in various libraries around the world. Many of these Pashto manuscripts have been recorded in published catalogues. The first complete catalogue of Pashto manuscripts was published by James Fuller Blumhardt and D.N. Mackenzie. Before this Blumhardt also included Pashto manuscripts along with other manuscripts published from London in 1905. There are a few rare and ancient manuscripts of Pashto in the State Library Berlin, Germany. These manuscripts have not been catalogued and properly introduced. This article attempts to introduce ten Pashto manuscripts housed at State Library Berlin Germany. Among them one manuscript Majma' ul-ash'ār is new among the Pashtun researchers and literary circles.

Keywords: Pashto Manuscripts, Pashto in Germany, Khayr ul-Bayān, Makhzan ul-Islām, Majma' ul-ash'ār, Afghanistan

Introduction

According to oral tradition and secondary sources, the history of Pashto literature is traced back to the first half of eighth century but the available authentic written sources belong to sixteenth century and onwards. Among the available sources the first complete book in Pashto literature is

This article is a part of my research project (Analysis of Literary, Linguistic, Cultural and Religious Aspects of Pashto Manuscripts in State Library Berlin, Germany), conducted at the Institute of Asian and African Studies-Central Asian Seminar Humboldt University Berlin from June to August 2019, funded by DAAD (Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst/German Academic Exchange Service) vide ID No. 57440915, under the programme Research Stays for University Academics and Scientists 2019. I am thankful to DAAD for the funding and facilitation. I am grateful to my mentor Prof. Dr. Lutz Rzehak who always guided and facilitated me during my research. Deatiled report of the project has been compiled and will be published in a book form.

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Khayr ul-bayān of Bāyazid Ansāri. There are only two manuscripts of this book. The oldest one is in State Library Berlin Germany. Including Khayr ul-Bayān, there are ten manuscripts of Pashto poetry and prose in State Library Berlin. These manuscripts cover the history of nearly four hundred years of Pashto literature (16th Century to 19th Century). Most of the Pashto manuscripts in different libraries and collectios of the world have been recorded in published catalogus but the Pashto manuscripts in Berlin State Library have not been published in a catalogue yet. Among these ten manuscripts only one manuscript namely *Tawārikh-i-Hāfiz Rahmat Khāni* accession number Sprenger. 214 is entered in a published catalogue of Persian manuscripts.[1] That is why most of the Pashto researchers especially from Pakistan and Afghanistan do not know about these significant and rare ancient manuscripts.

Khayr ul-Bayān

It is the oldest manuscript amongst these ten manuscripts.[2] This manuscript has been wandered in Europe among many people. In 1926 this manuscript was in the possession of George Morgenstierne. He has also published his notes with some extracts from the text of this manuscript. George Morgenstierne was given this manuscript by Sir E.D.Ross, Head of the School of Oriental and African Studies of London University, who had received it from a British military officer. After some time this copy has been returned to E.D. Ross again and thus the Berlin State Library acquired it from him for library.[3] After this short appearance, once again it disappeared from the people and for the second time it was discovered by Mawlana Abdul Qadir in 1959.[4] He got a microfilm of this manuscript and published it in 1967 with the commentaries of Hafiz Muhammad Abdul Quddus Qasmi and introduction by Mawlana Abdul Qādir. [5] In 1353/1975 the facsimile of the manuscript was published in Kabul, Afghanistan. Mawlāna Abdul Qādir, in the edited and published version of Khair ul-bayān, writes that he had discovered this manuscript (Khayr ul-bayān) in the library of Tubengin University. Numerous other scholars have also written in their books, research thesis and articles that the oldest manuscript of Khair ul-bayān is in the library of Tubengin University Germany. It is very surprising that Mawlāna Abdul Qādir has neither written its accession

[1] Wilhelm Pertch, Verzeichniss der PersischenHandschriften der Koniglichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, (Berlin, A. Asher & Co. 1888), 459

[2] Bayzid Ansāri, *Khair-ul-bayān (Ms. Or.fol.4093) in Berlin State Library.*

[3] Berlin Library sources show that it had acquired from E.D. Ross.

[4] Bayzid Ansāri, *Khayr ul-Bayān, tartib, tadwin aw hawaši: Hāfiz Muhammad Abdul Quddus Qasmi, Pežandgalo: Mawlānā Abdul Qādir.* (Peshawar: Pashto Academy University of Peshawar, Pakistan, 1967)

[5] Bayzid Ansāri, *Khayr ul-Bayān, tartib, tadwin aw hawaši: Hāfiz Muhammad Abdul Quddus Qasmi, Pežandgalo: Mawlānā Abdul Qādir.* (Peshawar: Pashto Academy University of Peshawar, Pakistan, 1967)

number nor he mentioned this manuscript as property of Berlin State Library only he has mentioned transfer of books and manuscripts from Berlin city. Before publishing my article in 2016 about manuscript of Khayr ul-bayān housed at Berlin Library[6], many people don't know its location but they were of the opinion that it is located in Tubengin University. Bayazid Ansāri (1524/25-1572/73), the author of Khayr ul-bayān, is among the pioneers of Pashto literature who had his own school of thought and a number of followers who were prominent literary figures of their ages. He was the founder of Roshani Movement. The Berlin copy of Khayr ul-bayān is scribed on 20th Ramazān1061 A.H. (6th September 1651).

Makhzan ul-Islām

It was written by Akhund Darweza to counter Bayazid's book Khayr ul-bayān. Makhzan means 'treasury' so the title means 'Treasury of Islam'. There are three[7] different manuscripts of Makhzan ul-Islam in the Berlin State Library. Among them two are the most ancient ones. One of these manuscripts is accomplished in 1116 A.H. (1704/5). Makhzan ul-Islām is also a very important literary work in the early history of Pashto literature. Mainly its content is theological and anti-Roshani. The available versions of Makhzan ul-Islam are edited and supplemented by descendents of Akhund Darweza, first by his son Karimdād and then his grandsons Abdul Halim and Mustafa Muhammad. It has acquired its final form in the end of 17th century. We find hardly any other manuscript of classical Pashto literature that has more copies than Makhzan ul-Islām. The reason is that this book was adopted a sort of textbook in madrasas and at homes. Mainly the contents of Makhzan are related to basic duties of Muslims, the laws and directions of Shariat, how to perform prayer and ablution in a correct way and so on. The first European scholar is J. Leyden, who for his investigation of Roshani Movement of Bayazid Ansari, translated one chapter (containing the data about Bayazid's life) of Makhzan ul-Islam into English. (Leyden, 1812)[8] Professor B.Dorn has also published some parts of this work in his Pashto Chrestomathy. (Dorn, 1847). I have come across two published versions of Makhzan in 19th century but for the first time its complete edition with

[6] Muhammad Ali Dinakhel, ***An Introduction to the first Pashto Manuscript 'Khair-ul-Bayan' Present in Germany***. Islamabad, Department of Pakistani Languages, Allama Iqbal Open University, Pakistani Zuban-o-adab, Annual Research Journal of Pakistani Languages and Literature, Issue No. 1 (Jan-Dec 2017), 49-77

[7] Akhund Darweza, *Makhzan ul-Islām (Ms. Orient. Fol. 4101) in Berlin State Library.* Darweza, A. *Makhzan-ul-Islam Ms.or.fol.219, in Berlin State Library.* Darweza, A. *Makhzan-ul-Islam (Ms. or. Minut. 189) in Berlin State Library.*

[8] J. Leyden, The Rosheniah Sect and its Founder Bayezid Ansari, *Asiatic Researches*. XI, (London:, *1812)*, 363-428.

introduction, was published by Pashto Academy University of Peshawar in 1969.[9]

Fawaidu-sh-Shariat

It is classical prose work of early time of Pashto literature.[10] This famous book is written by Akhund Qāsim Papinkhel. The title means 'benefits of Shari'at'. It is basically a theological work. In this manuscript, besides basic beliefs, fundamentals of Muslim law and practices of Islām, many aspects of Pashtun culture and social life have been discussed. There is a preamble by the author. Actually, in this preamble (fol.1b-3a) the author has praised Sayed Ali Tarmizi (Pir Bābā) and Akhund Darweza. They were spiritual guides of the author.[11] It is the first book in Pashto that describes in details the rights and duties of husband and wife.[12] It also includes a very important chapter on the description of commandments regarding dresses and clothings.[13]

Diwān-i-Rahmān Bābā

It is a popular book among Pashtuns. The poet, Rahmān Baba (circa 1650-1712) is the most popular Pashto poet. Structurally Rahmān's Diwan consists of two portions (*daftər*). There are an average 350 lyrics/odes in Rahman's Diwān but the copy housed in Berlin State Library having total of 181 lyrics/odes. Among them are 176 *ghazals*, four *qasidas* and one *rubai*. Usually Rahman's diwān is in alphabetical order but here in this manuscript the sequence of *ghazals* is not alphabetical. The scribe/copyist name is Sālih Muhammad Peshāwri. Although the date of finishing of this manuscript is slightly spoiled, presumably it can be 20 Muharram 1175 A.H (21 August 1761).[14] This is one of the oldest manuscripts of Rahmān Bābā's poetry.

Diwān-i- Kāzim Khān Shidā

It is another poetical anthology in Berlin State Library. This manuscript is important on account of its distinctive writing system in Pashto orthography. Muhammad Kazim Khān Shidā (1725-1778) is a prominent Pashto poet. He is descendent of Khushal Khan Khattak. Shidā has his own poetical style characterized by images and complexity of language. This style, on the analogy of Persian poetry, is often referred as "*Sabk-i-Hindi*" or Indian style. A pencil record on fol.1a shows that it has

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[9] (Darweza, Makhzan ul-Islām, muqaddema (preface) by Syed Taqwim ul-haq Kaka Khel, 1969)

[10] Akhund Qāsim, *Fawāid al-shariat Ms. Ms.orient.oct.1251, in Berlin State Library.*

[11] Fawāid-I-Shari'at (Ms.or.oct.1251), Fol.2a

[12] Akhund Qāsim, *Fawāid al-shariat Ms. Ms.orient.oct.1251, in Berlin State Library.* fol.69a-fol.74a

[13] Akhund Qāsim, *Fawāid al-shariat Ms. Ms.orient.oct.1251, in Berlin State Library.*fol.190b-fol.202b

[14] Rahman Baba. *Dewa-e-Rahmān Bābā (Ms.or. oct. 2100) in Berlin State Library.*

been purchased at Agra (India) in 1796 and scribed by Faiz Ali of Delhi.[15] Writing system used in this manuscript is very important. Linguistically this manuscript is also very important. It has its own distinctive dialect features. Shidā has used features of Khattak dialect in this manuscript. Retroflex stops /ṭ/,/ḍ/ and retroflex approximants /ṛ/ and retroflex nasal /ṇ/ are marked with the *hamza* over the grapheme, besides, dental affricates /c/[16] and /j/[17] are marked with the *hamza* underline *with* dots. Two dots with underline hamza is used for /c/ and one dot with underline hamza is used for /j/. Retroflex fricative /x/[18] and plato alveolar fricative / š/[19] are written alike with traditional < š>[20] because of the phonetic peculiarities of the khattak dialect. Retroflex fricative /ğ/[21] and /ž/[22] are also written like <ž>[23] because of the phonetic peculiarities of Khattak dialect. There is also introduction of the author in the diwān. There are seven sections in this diwān. The first section (fol.11a-34a) panegyric odes praising God, Prophet Muhammad [PBUH], four Caliphs, Bahāuddin Naqashbandi, Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi and Ghulām Ma'sum. In the last *masnawi* poem, Shidā has described the history of Pashto poetry and its features under the title *Hasb-i-Hāl da Pushto da shear*) from fol. 25b to fol.34a). The next and the big section is that of alphabetically arranged *ghazals* (fol.134b-149a). From fol.149b we see *qasidas*. Among them one is "*qasida-i-ahrāriya*" and "*qasida-i-bahāriya*". On fol.166b there is a *rubai*. From fol.209a to fol.212b, there are tarikhāt---"*tarikh-i-nawāb-i-Ali Muhammad Khan*". From fol.212b to 221a we see *qitaat*. At the end of diwān, there is a section of strophic poems (fol. 221b-237a). These include three *musaddas* and four *mukhammas* and in some of them *tazmin* is used with reference of Rahmān Bābā, Abdul Qādir and Khushāl Khān Khattak. In the colophon, on fol. 237a, the name of the scribe is written as Faiz Ali son of Qāsim-bek resident of Shāhjahānabād.[24]

Majma' ul-ash'ār

It is the most significant manuscript because there is no record of this manuscript in the recorded history of Pashto literature. It has only this single copy in State Library Berlin. It consists of two volumes.[25] Each volume contains more than three hundred folios. This manuscript has

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15 Diwān-i-Shidā (Ms.or.fol.308) Fol.1a

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23 ژ

24 Kāzim Khān Shidā. *Diwan-e-Kāzim Khān Shidā (Ms. Or. Fol. 308*) in Berlin State Library. Fol.237a

25 *Majma' ul-ash'ār Vol.I (Ms. Orient.oct. 1262) in Berlin State Library. Majma' ul-ash'ār Vol.II (Ms. Orient.oct. 1263) in Berlin State Library.*

samples of poetry of more than one hundred poets. Majority of them belong to eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This manuscript also include Persian verses of different poets.

Tawārikh-i-Hāfiz Rahmat Khāni

Among the Pashto manuscripts in Berlin State Library, only this manuscript is entered in a catalogue of Persian manuscripts published in 1888.[26] It is the first book written in Pashto language narrates the story of migration of different Pashtun tribes. This manuscript is divided into seven chapters with many sub headings. It describes the countries of Khakhi and Ghori tribes and especially the Yusufzai, arrival of Yusufzai into Peshawar, focus of the Yusufzai on Swat and arrival of King Babur, arrival of Gigyani tribe to Doaba and arrival of Babur from Kabul to Peshawar, war between Gigyani and Dalazāk, distribution of conquered land among tribes, crossing Landay River by Yusufzai and their war with Ghurya Khel.

Conclusion

From literary, linguistic, religious, and cultural point of view all of the ten Pashto manuscripts housed in State Library Berlin are very significant and valuable. Among these ten Pashto manuscripts housed in Berlin State Library, the oldest one is Khayr ul-Bayān of Bāyazid Ansāri which is the first available complete book in the history of Pashto literature. Writing of Khayr ul-bayān is finished on 20th Ramazan 1061 A.H (6 September 1651). The latest among these manuscripts is *Majma' ul-ash'ār* belongs to the 18th century. It is an anthology of poetical works of more than one hundred poets. *Majma' ul-ash'ār* is only single copy and has never been mentioned in the recorded history of Pashto literature. Among these ten manuscripts only one is recorded in published catalogue of Persian manuscripts. There is no published and detailed catalogue of the rest of the Pashto manuscripts in State Library Berlin. That is why many scholars and students of Pashto language and literature has no knowledge about the Pashto collection at the State Library Berlin. Each of these manuscripts has its distinctive features in the history of Pashto literature. Among these manuscripts a few are scribed in India and others in (presently) Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province of Pakistan. One of these manuscripts, Makhzan ul-Islām has remained as text book in *Madrasas* for centuries. Not limited to, but dominant themes discussed in these manuscripts are related to religion (fundamental beliefs and practices of Islām), literature (various literary genres), linguistics (dialects variation, language change and development, orthographic and script development, phonology etc.), and culture. These manuscripts also help in understanding and analysis of varieties in Pashto

[26] Wilhelm Pertsch, Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, Vierter Band Verzeichniss von Persischen Handsschriften, (Berlin: A.Asher & Co. 1888), 459

dialects as well as the orthographic and script development of Pashto. Pashto orthography and writing system also developed in this period of Pashto literature.

Analysis of all these manuscripts reflects Pashtun cultural, literary, linguistic and social development. Different phases of literary and orthographic development in the history of Pashto language and literature is covered in these manuscripts.

Besides literary and linguistic development, socio-cultural and intellectual development, changes and evolution in Pashtun society and culture are also found in the deep study of these manuscripts. All of these manuscripts are very important for their contents, language, and period.

Recommendations

After finishing my research project, I strongly recommend the following points regarding the digitization and further studies of these manuscripts.

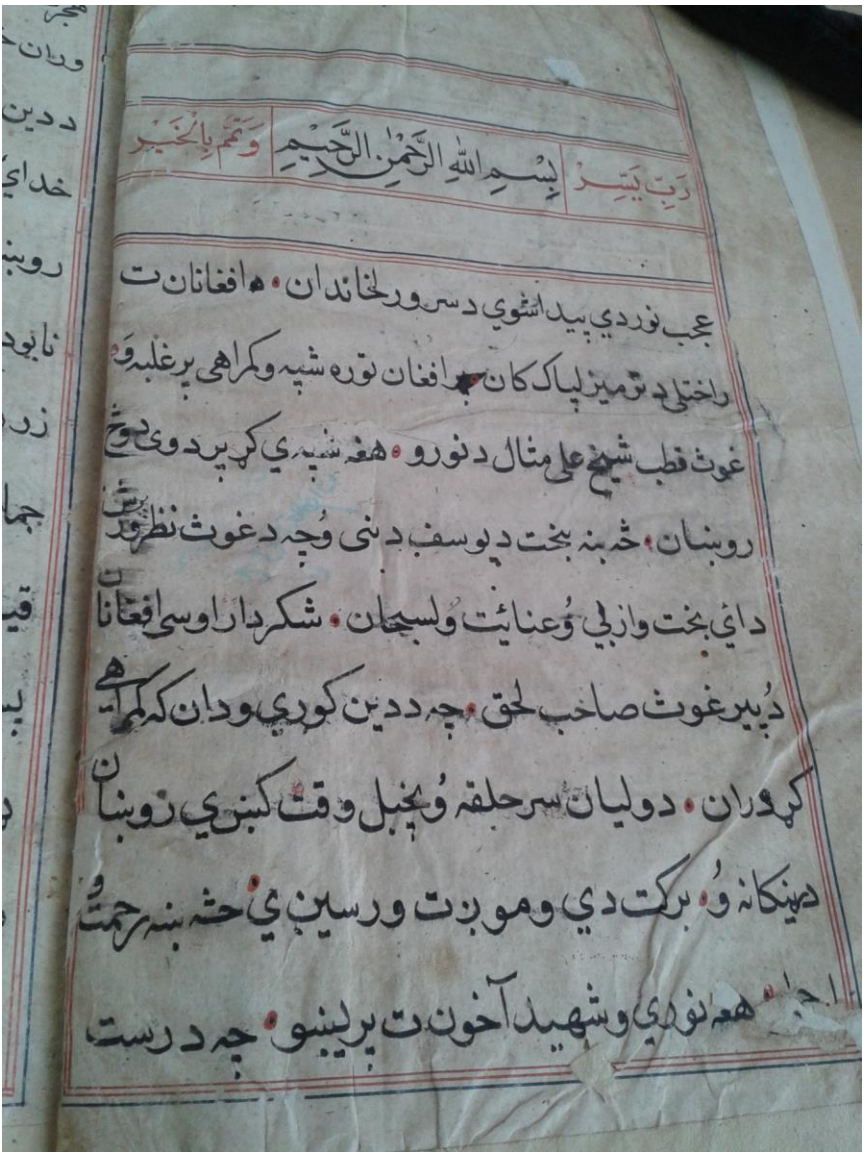
1. A detailed catalogue of Pashto manuscripts of Berlin State Library is needed to be published and circulated online so that students and scholars of Pashto language and literature may know about this collection.
2. All of these manuscripts should be digitized. Among them one manuscript Diwān-i-Kāzim Khān Shidā is in very critical condition so it is necessary to digitize that one on priority bases.
3. A long term project (Ph.D or Postdoc) is needed for complete analysis and study of various aspects (literary, linguistic, cultural, historical and religious) of these manuscripts.
4. It is also suggested to provide at least soft copies of these manuscripts to the universities in Pakistan and Afghanistan especially to those universities where Pashto departments are available.

List of the Manuscripts Analysed in this Project

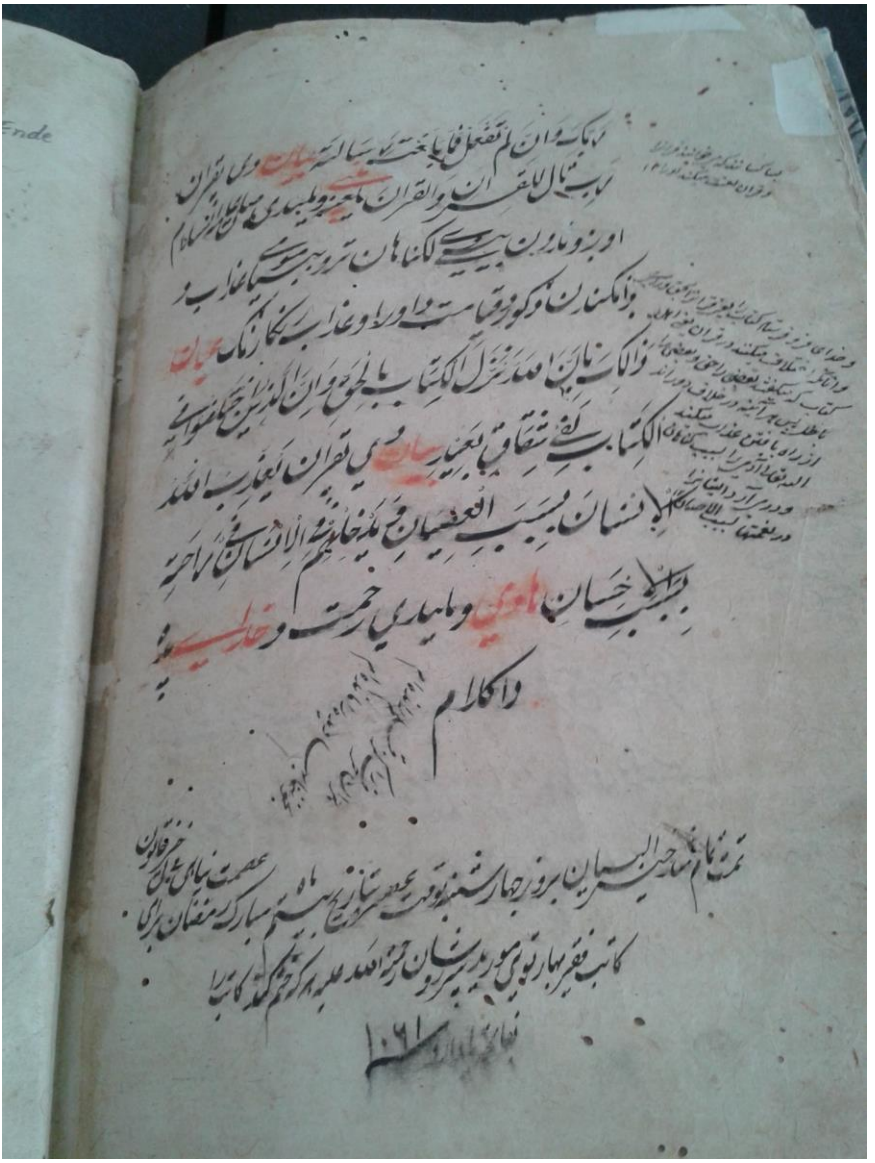
S.No	Manuscript Name	Number	Date of Accession
01	*Diwan-e-Kāzim Khān Shidā*	Ms. Or. Fol. 308	1926
02	*Dewa-e-Rahmān Bābā*	Ms.or. oct. 2100	1913
03	*Fawaidu-sh-shariat*	Ms.orient.oct.1251	1913
04	*Khair-ul-bayān*	Ms. Or.fol.4093	1926
05	*Makhzan ul-Islām (Composite Manuscript)*	Ms. Orient. Fol. 4101	1926
06	*Majma' ul-ash'ār* Vol.I	Ms. Orient.oct. 1262	1913
07	*Majma' ul-ash'ār* Vol.II	Ms. Orient.oct. 1263	1913
08	*Makhzan-ul-Islam*	Ms. or. Minut. 189	1926

09	*Makhzan-ul-Islam*	Ms.or.fol.219	1926
10	*Tawārikh-i-Hāfiz Rahmat Khāni*	Sprenger. 214	1888.

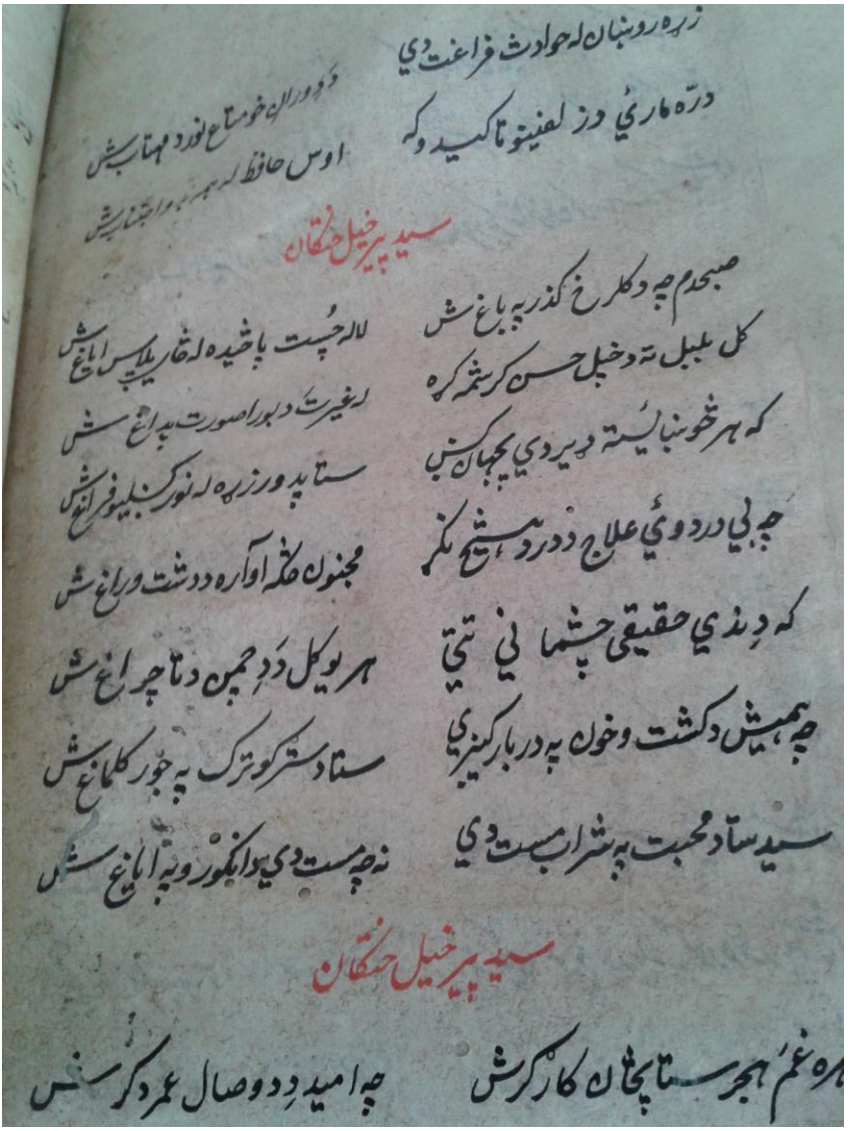
A page from the manuscript of *Fawaidu-sh-shariat*



A page from the manuscript of *Khair-ul-Bayān*



A page from the manuscript of *Majma' ul-ash'ār* Vol.I



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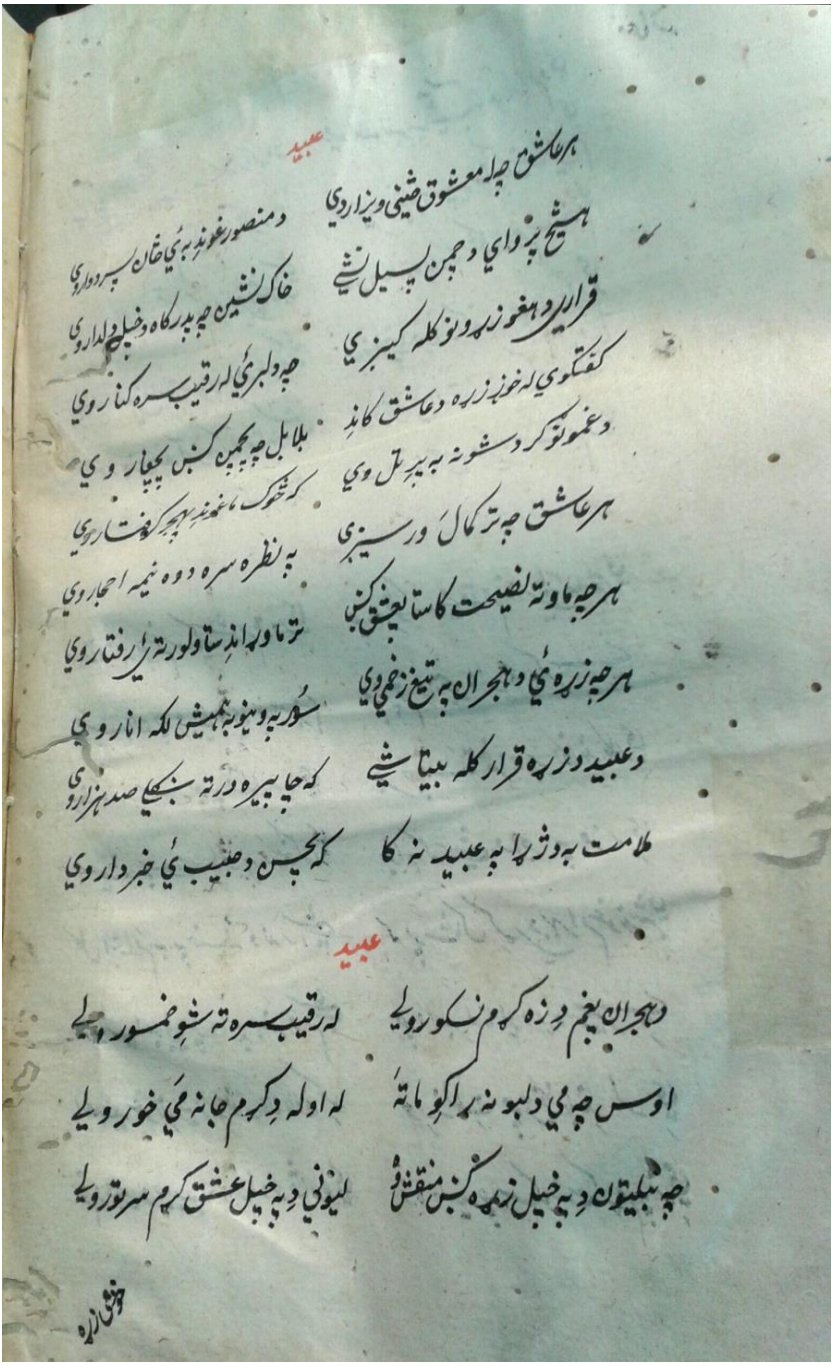
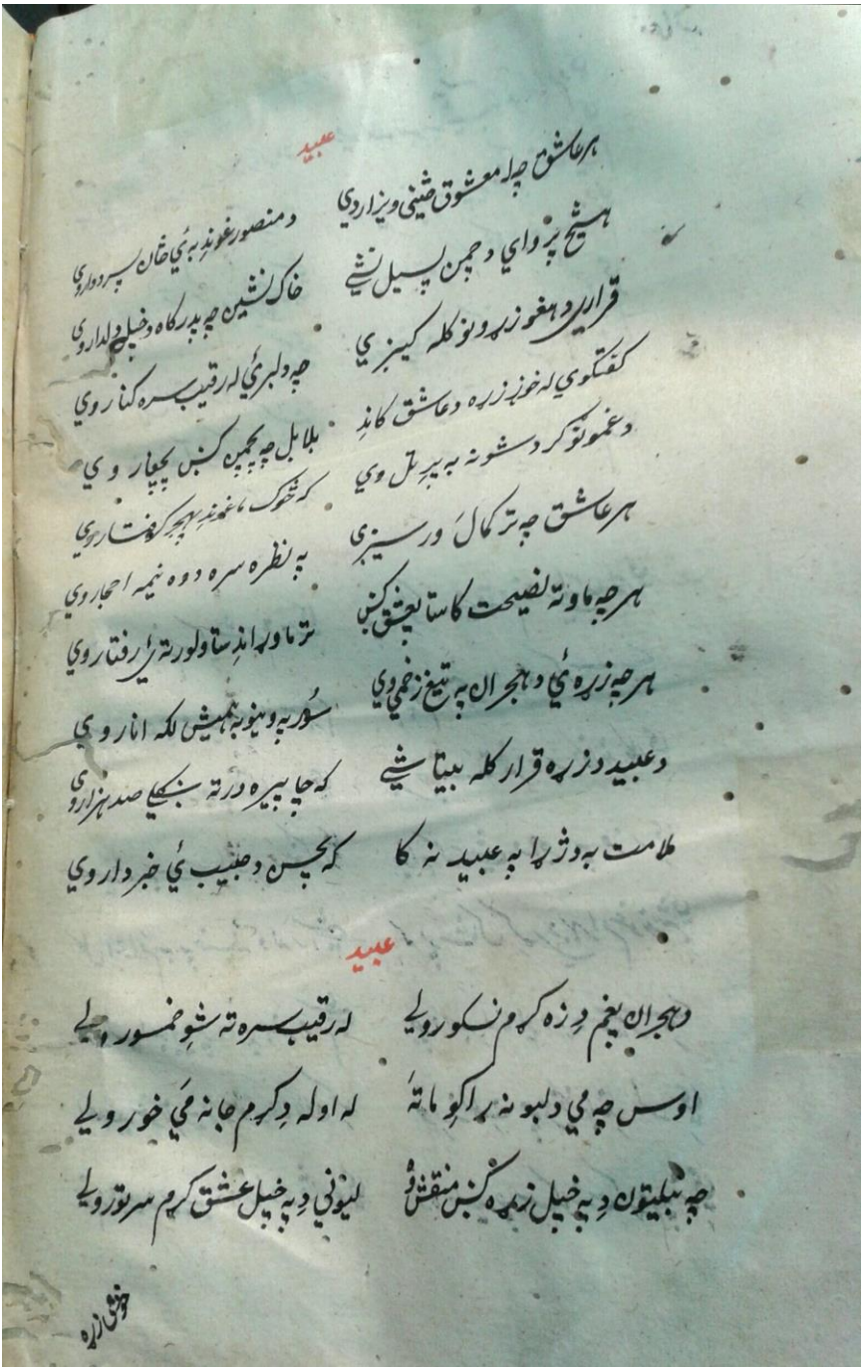




عبید

هر عاشق چې له معشوق څخه ویزاروي
د منصور غوندې به ئې خان سپرداروي

هیڅ پروای د چمن پسیل نشي
خاک نشین چې پدرګاه وخیل لداروي

قرار یې د هغو زړه رونو کله کیږي
چې دلبرئې له رقیب سره کناروي

کفتګوي له خوږ زړه د عاشق کاندې
بلابل چې چمن کښې پچیاروي

د غمونو کړ د شونه به پرې تل وي
کړ څوک د غمزې پرې ګرفتار وي

هر عاشق چې تر کمال ورسیږي
به نظره سره دوه نیمه اجاروي

هر چې ماوته نصیحت کا ستا عشق کښې
تر ما وړاندې ستا لور ته زار فتاروي

هر چې زړه ئې د هجران په تیغ زخمي وي
سور به وینو به همیش لکه انار وي

د عبید د زړه قرار کله بیا شي
که چا پیره د رته سل کیا صد هزار وي

ملامت به د وژړا په عبید نه کا
که چې د حبیب ئې خبر دار وي

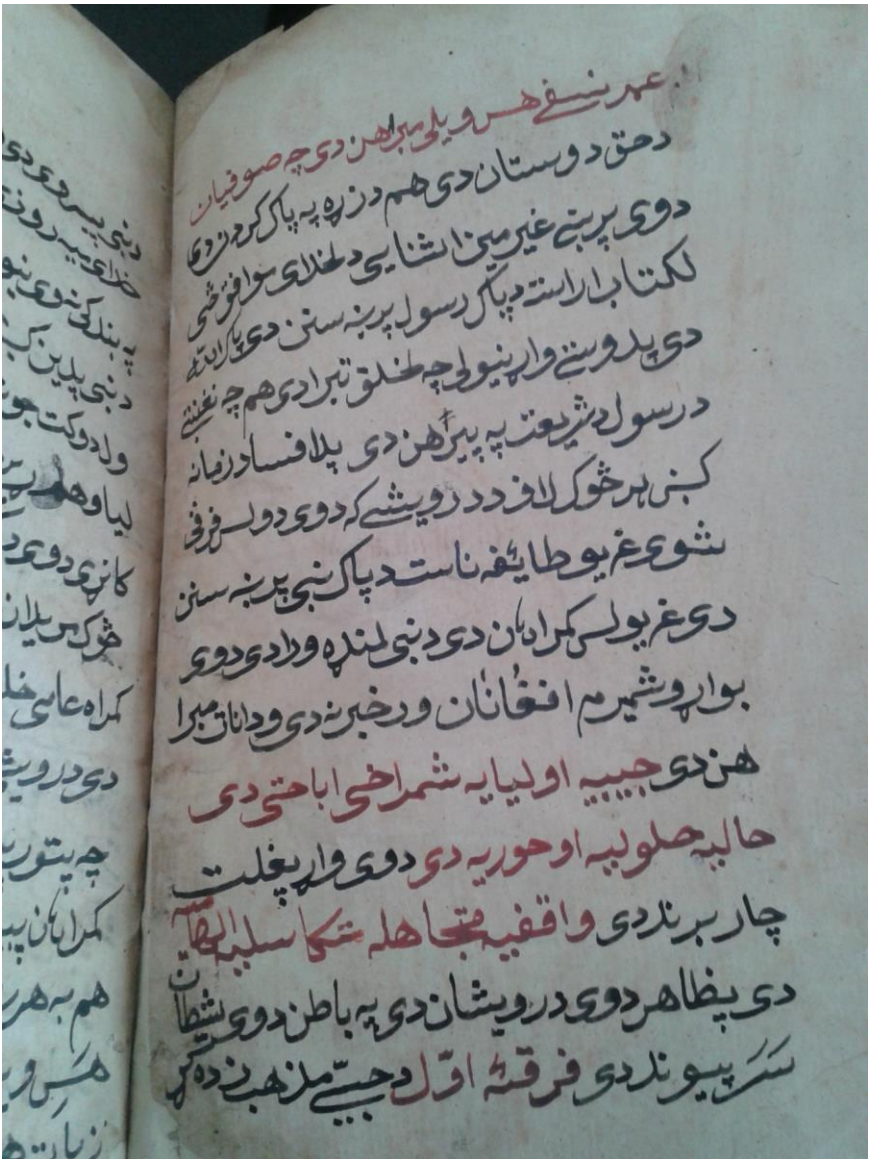
عبید

د هجران یغم د زه کړم نکو رولے
له رقیب سره ته شو خمور ولے

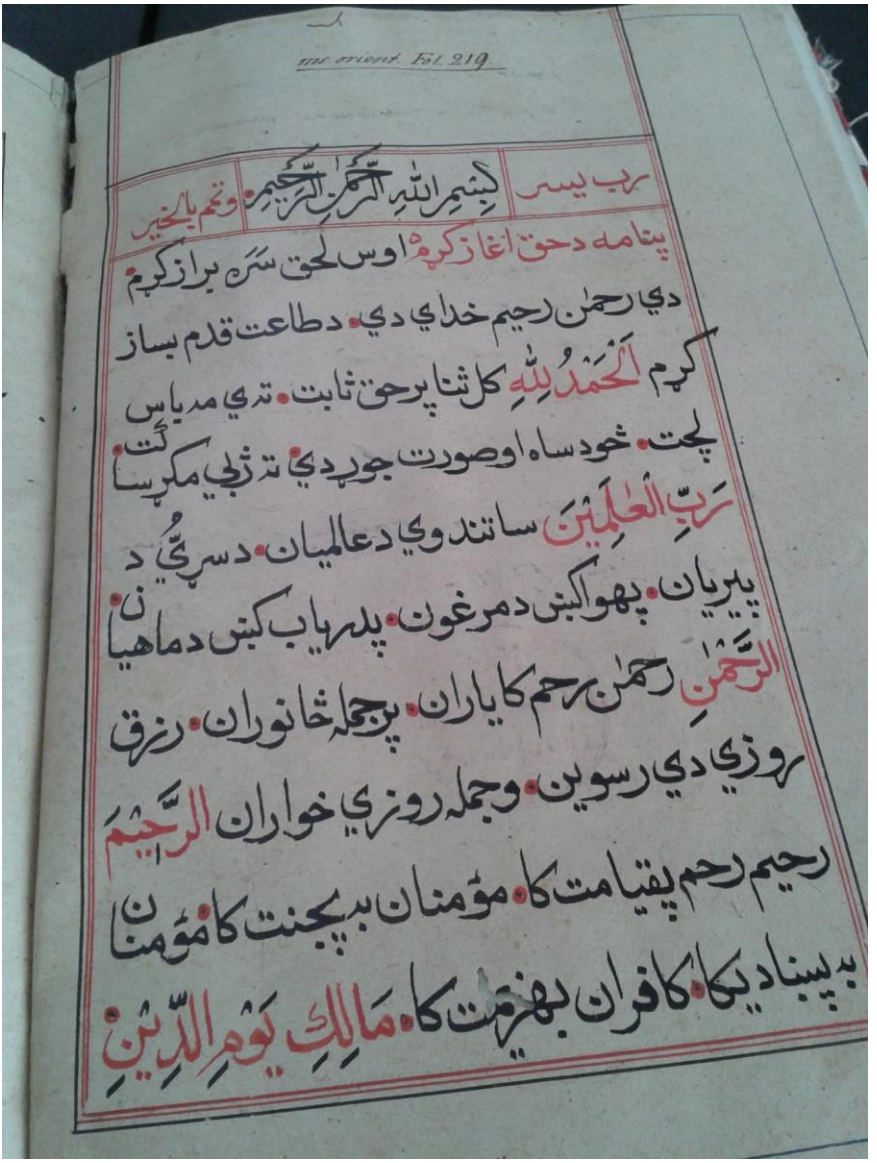
اوس چې مې دلبر نه زړ اکو ماته
له اوله د کړم جانه مې خو رولے

چې بلیتون د یې خیل زړه کښې منقش دے
لیونې د یې خیل عشق کړم سر تو رولے

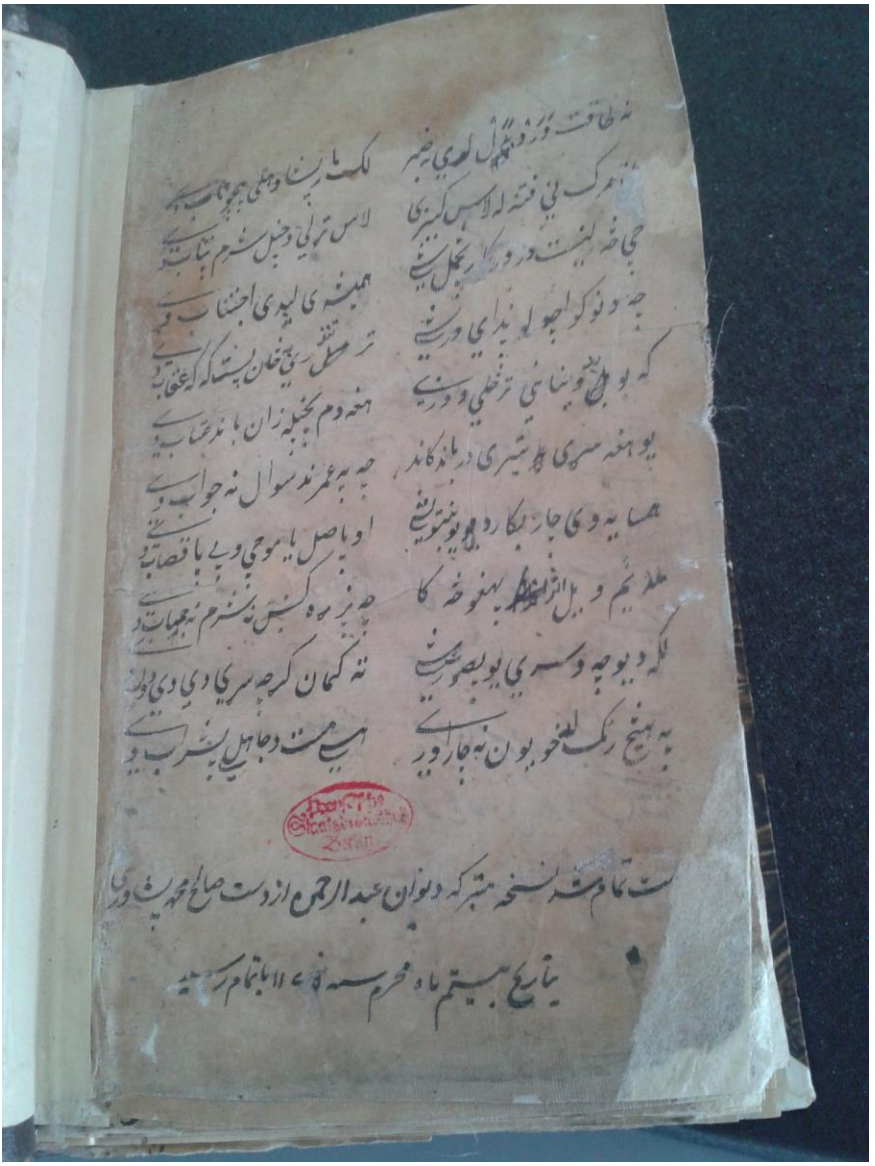
A page from the manuscript of *Makhzan-ul-Islam* No. Ms. or. Minut. 189



A page from the manuscript of *Makhzan-ul-Islam* No. Ms.or.fol.219



A page from the manuscript of *Dewan-e-Rahman Baba*



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Shah, P. M. *Tawārikh-i-Hāfiz Rahmat Khāni (Sprenger. 214) in Berlin State Library .*

Shidā, K. K. *Diwan-e-Kāzim Khān Shidā (Ms. Or. Fol. 308) in Berlin State Library.*

Central Asia Journal No. 88, Summer 2021

THE MECHANISM OF TRIBAL JIRGA SYSTEM: CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS

Shaukatullah[*] & Rubina Ali[**]

Abstract

In Pukhtoon culture, the Jirga system is the oldest and well-established institution for conflict resolution. However, to date, its history, constitution and actions mostly remain verbal. It is one of the institutions that act as a strong power behind the entire lives of the tribal people individually and publically. Jirga system is practiced as the best tool for conflict resolution and satisfies the aspirations of the people. The mechanism of Jirga is very simple and straightforward, it proceeded in the local language according to custom and tradition of the locality. It provides swift justice and accessible as well as affordable to everyone. However, despite some good results, the Jirga system is not without problems and serious challenges. The fingers pointed out on it, such as favoritism in making and implementing the decision. The procedure of Jirga is simple; it is traditional and cost-effective. It follows local language, customs, and traditions, thus creates ownership in the local population.

Keywords: Jirga Members, Proceeding, Decision, Appeal, Implementation, Challenges

Introduction

Conflict resolution in the present time is a burning issue; customarily individuals, social groups and societies have disputed and competed against one another over property, wealth, land, money, political superiority, and ideology. Local practitioners do the most important and growing contributions to conflict resolution and peacebuilding.[1] The *Jirga* system of semi-formal, local, traditional courts is universal throughout Pakistan. *Jirga*

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[1]Ali Wardak, *Jirga—A traditional mechanism of conflict resolution in Afghanistan*. (Pontypridd, UK: University of Glamorgan, Centre for Criminology, 2003)

is a board of gentleman elders of the collaborative group. They generally appointed with the consent of the parties concerned. Parties may also recommend the selection of a *Jirga* member who is expert and knowledgeable in this regard. The literal meaning of the word *Jirga*] is an assembly, which addresses questions between parties. However, it is the crucial and vital component of *Pukhtoon* culture and civilization having its functions, structure and history.[2] *Jirga* means a position where individuals may express their sentiments and feelings without any threat. In *Pukhtoo* "Jar" means bright tone and "*gah*" means place or position. In Arabic, the word *jahar* means loud.[3]

At present, the government of Pakistan has merged the Federally Administered Tribal Areas with Khyber Pakhtunkhwa as the result of the 25th amendment in the constitution of Pakistan on 31 May 2018.[4] However, in the tribal areas, informal justice is incomplete and contradictory. Furthermore, the Jirga supports the people for access to justice. The procedural technicalities are almost inapplicable to the *Jirga* proceedings, and that is why *Jirga* is often better and faster than ordinary litigation. The proceedings of the *Jirga* provide confidentiality. The result or decision may be kept confidential. It is a cheaper option for people and less expensive. The most exciting and best thing in *Jirga* is that parties have the option to choose their adjudicators without any pressure or threats. They have the liberty to opt for adjudicator mutually.[5] The process and procedure of *Jirga* are not complicated but easier. The decisions are purely based on evidence. Evidence and testimony also required for completing the procedure of the *Jirga*. *Jirga* serves humanity and particularly the tribal people of Pakistan. The functioning of the *Jirga* system is informal because *Jirga* is a mode of alternative dispute resolution.[6] It also performs the functions of mediation. The role of the mediator is different because he hears both sides and tries to make a consensus of the people and to bring them to the point of agreement. Mediator prefers to bring parties to the point of compromise. However, the *Jirga* conclusion is binding.

The code of conduct also followed in a *Jirga*. However, this code of conduct differs from area to area. Usually, it made according to past practices and experiences. In Pakistan and Afghanistan, this practice followed. *Jirga* is

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[2]M. Baig Badakhshan, *Feroz-ul-lughat, Dictionary of Persian and Urdu Jamia*, (Lahore: Ferozsons Publication, 2004), 9

[3]M. Ibrahim Atayee, "*A Dictionary of the Terminology of the Pukhtoon Tribal Customary Law*" (1978, 1272), 119,

[4] Wasim Amir, President signs KP-Fata merger bill into law," *Dawn News*, (2018, May 31)

[5] Sherzaman Taizi, "*Jirga system in tribal life*." (Peshawar: Area Study Center (Russia, China and Central Asia), University of Peshawar 2007). 4

[6] Amna Mahmood, Shaukat Ullah, and Shughla Ashfaq. "The evolution of Jirga system: A conflict resolution mechanism in FATA." *Liberal Arts and Social Sciences International Journal (LASSIJ)* 2(1) (2018), 21-28

entirely different from the ordinary Court. The actual authority and power rest with the *Jirga* members who are nominated and selected by parties. In this context, the role of the government representative is also essential. The purpose of his appointment is to maintain a law in order situation. Keeping in view, distinguishing feature and social applicability of the *Jirga* system it realized to explore the working of tribes based judicial system. It works entirely on the principle of equality and impartiality.[7] The implementation mechanism of the *Jirga* system proved to shelter helpless and needy people. In this research, the tribal *Jirga* system is discussed in its real shape. This informal justice system has a growing contribution to conflict resolution in the absence of the formal justice system. In the present days, the *Jirga* system has some severe challenges to link this institution with international Human rights, national laws and state department.

Data and Method

This research work explains the mechanism of the tribal *Jirga* system and the challenges it faced by a *Jirga* in the present era. The ex-tribal area is consisting of seven Districts (Ex-Tribal Agencies) therefore this study only focuses on Bajaur District. The word mechanism is used in this research for method and procedure of *Jirga* system, that how a *Jirga* is proceeded, such as bringing of issues, selection of *Jirga* members, decisions implementation and appeal. Its working procedure is straightforward and indigenous. This research work followed a historical approach and use qualitative methods to evaluate the procedure of tribal *Jirga*. It examines the relevant literature on the *Jirga* system. The data collected from different sources, such as books, articles, newspapers, reports and different websites related to the *Jirga* system.

An Issue brings in a *Jirga*

There are three ways in which an issue brought before *Jirga* members. These are as follows. In this case, any party to the dispute requests the *Jirga* members to intervene for the resolution of the dispute. Usually, one party approaches *Jirga* members for the solution of the dispute or conflict. The second party comes to know about such a request from other members, and usually, the second party welcomes the news.[8] It is the method through which issues settled, and the people follow it as a resolution mechanism. Both parties have the right to approach *Jirga* members. If one party denies the decision or proceedings of *Jirga* after the consent, then the whole blame rests on the party who denied it. Parties must answer all queries and

[7] Maryamghani, Sustainability and the commons narratives and resources, "Jirga" The World's oldest Common (2013), Retrieved from: *https://sustainabilityandthecommons. wordpress.c /2013/ 10/20/jirga-the-worlds-oldest-common*

[8] M. Hassan Yousafzai, and Ali Gohar. *Pukhtoon Jirga,* (Peshawar: Just peace International, 2005), 12.

questions. This denial gives an excellent win to the other party who accepts it.[9] Sometimes both the parties may also approach the *Jirga* when the dispute relates to land, money or small quarrels. For example, in money and land matters, people usually prefer to bring their dispute before *Jirga* members to resolve their issues. It is so because the verdict of *Jirga* members is obligatory on parties and speedy as well. Both the parties would request the *Jirga* for a solution.[10]

Sometimes disputes arise between individual, families or tribes in such a way it affects other people. For example, if the parties start a crossfire on one another. The life and prosperity of other people will be in danger. In this condition, the seniors of the community call a *Jirga* and listen to the viewpoint of both parties to arrive at an acceptable solution.[11] After approval gained, parties advised stopping their fire. A momentary settlement established, first, which level the argument for auxiliary and additional discussion. The *Jirga* try to take *waak* (authority) from both the parties and solve the dispute.[12]

Selection of *Jirga* Members

The selection of the *Jirga* members varies according to the type of *Jirga*. For Sarkari *Jirga*s, usually, the members are selected from the notable elders or the Maliks of the area. In the case of the *Ulusi* or *Qawmi Jirga*, the members usually comprised of elders of the notable families whose social standing and experience with the *Pukhtoon wali*[13] (the inherited moral and social code of Pukhtoon society) entitle them to a place on the council. The size of a *Jirga* varies from one situation to another, based on the nature, significance and sensitivity of the dispute. It might consist of although two members are more and often there are four or six experienced members, fully conversant with the laws of the *Pukhtoon wali*. *Jirga* resolves the disputes efficiently, and the members chose from influential tribes and *khel* (sub-tribe).[14]

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[9] Ibid

[10]Naveed Ahmad Shinwari, "*Understanding FATA: attitudes towards governance, religion & society in Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas*. Volume IV." (2010).

[11]Maryamghani, Sustainability and the commons narratives and resources, "*Jirga" The World's oldest Common* (2013), retrieved from: *https://sustainabilityandthecommons. wordpress.c /2013/ 10/20/jirga-the-worlds-oldest-common,*

[12]Yousafzai and Ali Gohar. *Pukhtoon Jirga*,20.

[13] A Pashtun possesses honor (*izzat*); without honor she/he is no longer considered a Pashtun, and is not given the rights, protection, and support of the Pashtun community, Pashtunwali's honor- based society is governed by the concepts of chivalry (or bravery, courage) (*ghayrat* or *nang*), hospitality (*melmastia*), gender boundaries (*purdah* or *namus)* and council (*jirga*).

[14]Ali Shan Shah, and Shahnaz Tariq. "Implications of parallel justice system (Panchyat and Jirga) on Society." *People* 2 (2013), 200-209

When a conflict arises between two individuals are tribes, the first step is the selection of a *Jirga*. The variety of the *Jirga* members varies from case to case and according to the kind of *Jirga*. According to FCR 1901, the Political Agent or his assistant empowered to nominate *Jirga* members. These members of Sarkari *Jirga* are usually selected from the notable elders or the Malaks and Khans of the area who have a reputation of loyally to the government.[15]

Neutrality is the foremost and significant requirement for *Jirga* members. Usually, parties agreed upon neutral and impartial members in a local *Jirga*. If one party has any serious problem, then the party has the right to nominate a representative who acts on his behalf. Typically, parties choose odd numbers of *Jirga* members who are neutral to facilitate voting. Mutual consent of the parties is necessary. Sometimes parties select different members in the *Jirga* system but usually both the parties mutually consented to the names of the members of the *Jirga*. Those members should be impartial and knowledgeable because they must know relevant laws about the issue. Disputes usually arise when there is an assertion of right from one party and denial from the other party. The parties have the free choice to select *Jirga* members. The code of *Pukhtoon wali* is considered as direction and guideline while taking decisions by *Jirga* members.[16]

Members are generally chosen from elders and respectable members of the society called *Speen Girey* (Whitebeard men) in the case of *Ulusi Jirga*. They have known repute for their honesty, intelligence and a solid understanding and knowledge of *Pukhtoon wali* and Shariah. The *Jirga* members are also required to implement their decision. For this purpose, the *Jirga* members must be influential people of the area.[17] If a *Jirga* is called for resolution of a dispute between two individual and parties, they have the right to change or reject a member or members from the *Jirga*. For example, if one of the *Jirga* members is favoring unnecessarily another party, then the first party has the right to change or reject *Jirga* members due to his bias and favoritism. However, there should be a balance in the selection of *Jirga* members. They should be chosen by mutual consent of both parties. It is the duties of *Jirga* members that they should do justice and give a decision according to the custom and tradition of tribal locality.[18] Essential qualification of *Jirga* members includes proven leadership, hospitality, family background, human resources, political influence, practical verbal expression and recognized source of judgment. *Jirga* member should be non-biased and kind-hearted. He should also possess a sound knowledge of the

[15]Naveed Ahmad Shinwari, "*Understanding FATA: attitudes towards governance, religion & society in Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas*. Volume IV." (2010).
[16]Yousafzai and Ali Gohar. *Pukhtoon Jir*ga,25.
[17]Wardak. *Jirga—A traditional mechanism of conflict resolution,* (2003)
[18]Amna, Shaukat, and Shughla. "*The evolution of Jirga system*: 21-28.

law. His moral character and honorable behavioral attributes such as integrity, truthfulness and straightforwardness should be correct.[19]

Proceeding of *Jirga*

Jirga proceedings are different as compared to ordinary judicial proceedings. There is a specific procedure for its implementation. People prefer such proceedings because of less technical and easily accessible. It is necessary to explain here that *Jirga* proceedings are completely different from a trial. *Jirga* proceedings are simple and without many formalities. Proceeding of a *Jirga* is as follow:

The proceedings of *Jirga* are carried out in a Masjid, Hujra (Guest House) Daba[20] (elevated open place of the village) or under the shade of a huge tree. There is no leading officer and hierarchal position in a *Jirga*. The most experienced and skillful persons carried out the proceeding of *Jirga* after the recitation of the Holy Quran and jointly duaa (prayer) for the excellent settlement of the issues.[21] When an issue is between two individual and two tribes, the *Jirga* held in a Hujra or a Masjid, if the dispute affects the whole society, the *Jirga* carried out under a huge tree or a village Daba. All the people have the right to listen to open discussion and proceedings of the *Jirga*. The *Jirga* system is conducted in two ways.[22]

Firstly, In the case of family or individual disputes, the concerned parties themselves appeal to *Jirga*. The second category can be compared

[19]Brian R Kerr,. "A progressive understanding of Pashtun social structures amidst current conflict in FATA." *Conflict and Peace Studies* 3(4) (2010), 1-12

[20] Hujra, Jumat, Daba, Akhter,Ghobal, essential component for a Village, Daba is a Common place of a Village where organized the entire cultural social and also some religious activities.

[21] Yousafzai and Ali. *Pukhtoon Jirga*, 21.

[22] Wardak. *Jirga—A traditional mechanism of conflict resolution,* (2003)

with the Suo Motu action of a court, particularly of the Supreme Court of Pakistan. The *Jirga* is organized by volunteers who perform the role of messengers announcing the date, timings and venue in all the villages of the tribe and also provide necessary arrangements for conducting *Jirga.* The *Jirga* participants usually gather around a vast circle resembling a round table conference giving the message that no one is better and superior to the other in the eyes of *Pukhtoon wail*. First, of everything, each party is given time to explain its viewpoint. The expected duration of ordinary *Jirga* is a day or two. For a unique and essential issue, the proceeding of *Jirga* may take weeks and so.[23]

The concerned children and vulnerable people participate in their guardians. Because of *Pukhtoon* culture, women cannot sit in a *Jirga* and hence involved through their representatives. The operation of *Jirga* is carried out according to tribal tradition and custom. During the operation of the *Jirga,* maximum participation from both parties is ensured. The crowd is not allowed to participate or interfere in the proceedings of *the Jirga*. Because the crowd is not the *Jirga* members, and they are not allowed to sit in the first circle, politeness, smoothness of the proceeding, and respectability of the *Jirga* is highly ensured during the whole process.[24]
The traditional process of *Jirga* is very straightforward and simple in its manner. The *Jirga* is comprised of the *Speen Girey* or white-bearded elderly men, and other male members. The '*Speen Girey'* acts as judges and other participants are like jury members. All the parties involved are required to respect the *Jirga* members. If the parties have any reservation, those need to be shared in the pre-mediation process and stage. During the *Jirga* proceedings, all the parties will address the members of the *Jirga* and not the rival parties directly.[25]

The *Jirga* members have a very well-built authority to prevent parties from talking when it is essential. The *Jirga* members hear and examine the facts and witnesses to find out and elaborate the truth. Following a systematic debate with the parties, *Jirga* members inquire about the matter in controversy in the light of customary, tribal, spiritual and traditional rules and regulations. When inquiries are conducted, then *Jirga* members reach a fair and agreed resolution of the dispute.[26] It is a well-established principle that no one should be condemned unheard. Therefore, in the tribal *Jirga,* every party has the right to hear and speak irrespective of his/her status. Usually, if women are involved in a case, then her representative speaks on her behalf. Women are considered respectable and honorable in tribal societies. Their rights are protected and promoted to solve their household problems, as they are a vulnerable class of society.

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[23] Taizi.*Jirga system in Tribal L*ife, 4
[24] Amna, Shaukat, and Shughla. "*The evolution of Jirga system*: 21-28.
[25] Yousafzai and Ali. *Pukhtoon Jirga*, 21.
[26] Ibid

In this process, both parties agree to nominate neutral members with their mutual consent. Sometimes mutual consent is a pre-requisite for the selection of *Jirga* members (if parties agree). Often the neutrality is visible after the decision made by them. Infect, they are always learned and experienced persons of the community. They are the most honorable and knowledgeable persons of the locality.[27] People usually choose them because they have confidence in their character, experience and knowledge. The decision of the *Jirga* members is final, and parties accept without any reservation. It is the responsibility of the *Jirga* members that they should be neutral while taking decisions. They should not be a beast against one party. As parties choose them and have confidence in them, they should also prove that they are impartial and authoritative in their decisions, there must not be any doubt regarding their neutrality.[28]

The weightage of evidence is vital in *Jirga* proceedings. It is different as compared to the ordinary judicial system. The *Jirga* decision and result is based on the general way of life and habitual tribal way followed by people. In fundamental cases, such as murder kidnapping and serious crimes, the *Jirga* takes oath on Holy book. People practice it as it is linked with them in moral terms, and usually, they cannot take false testimony on Holy Book. After such an oath, the difference stands resolved.[29] This practice is followed ordinarily in *Pukhtoon* culture ant its application is different in areas. The objective is to dispense justice; therefore, *Jirga* members strive hard to achieve this objective. The *Jirga* strives to find a peaceful and good enough clarification to the clash as soon as possible and a device mechanism for its enforcement.[30] Sometimes witnesses are examined personally by *Jirga* members, but it is different from cross-examination and examination-in-chief. It is usually asked with a question i-e YES, or NO, it does not involve long stories. The questions asked are short, and witnesses usually answer to the point.

The principle of equality is another unique feature of the tribal *Jirga***.** All the members and both the parties are equal in the eyes of *pukhtoon* traditional and customary law. Everyone is equal before the law, and no one is above the law.[31] *Jirga* members usually consider both parties equal. They never neglect any party. Discrimination based on sex, caste, religion, and language is prohibited under human rights law, (as envisaged in human rights instruments i-e UDHR, ICESCR, ICCPR, CRC); therefore *Jirga* members

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[27] Abdul Qadir Mushtaq, Umer Yaqoob, and Muhammad Usman Javaid. "Role of jirga in Pakhtoon society an analysis with special reference to justice dispensation." *Journal of Punjab University Historical Society (JPUHS)* 29(2) (2016), 11-19

[28]Shinwari, Naveed Ahmad. "*Understanding FATA*, (2010)

[29]Amna, Shaukat, and Shughla. "*The evolution of Jirga system*: 21-28.

[30]Wardak. *Jirga—A traditional mechanism of conflict resolution*, (2003)

[31]Bernt Glatzer, "The Pashtun Tribal System, în G. Pfeffer & DK Behera (eds.): *Concept of Tribal Society, Contemporary Society: Tribal Studies, Vol 5*)." (2002): 5.

are not allowed to discriminate parties. They are supposed to treat parties equally. No one is superior to others. All the members sit in a circle without a keeper. There is no superior position for any *Jirga* member all are treated equally.[32]

The disputant is also treated; equally, no one is superior. The principle of equality is accepted universally. If we look into the international human rights instruments, we found that the human rights instrument speaks about this issue. For example, The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) is an international document adopted by the UN General Assembly on 10 December 1948 in Paris. The Declaration arose directly from the experience of World War II. It represents the first global expression of rights to which all human beings are inherently equally entitled. Article 10 of UDHR states that". "Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and any criminal charge against.[33]

The Decision of the *Jirga*

The decision is the most crucial part of *Jirga* proceedings. After hearing both the parties and in the light of the evidence, the *Jirga* officially announces its decision. *Jirga* members give their verdict in the light of available evidence and which is clear. The decision is based on *Pukhtoon wali*, local traditions and fair play.[34] Wealth, Social status and political power of any party cannot influence the decision of *Jirga* in any case. In case of sensitive matters like murder, kidnap etc. a Quranic oath is taken which is necessary to prove one virtue, as religion is the highest authority in *Pukhtoon* society. The role of Malaks and Khans of the locality does not influence *Jirga* decision.

Jirga decision is binding on parties because parties have mutually agreed upon *Jirga* members. If there is any clerical mistake in the decision, then *Jirga* members have the right to modify it.[35] It is necessary to mention here that the scope of appeal is highly limited in the *Jirga* system. It is different from the judgment as in an ordinary Court of law. Usually, *Jirga* members call people to group together and then announce their decision publically.[36] The decision is based on the consensus of the majority members of the *Jirga*. The *Jirga* members ask the related parties before it announces

[32]Taizi. *Jirga system in Tribal Life*, 5
[33]Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), Article (10).
[34] Brian R. Kerr, "*A progressive understanding of Pashtun social structures amidst current conflict in FATA*.1-12
[35]Wardak. *Jirga—A traditional mechanism of conflict resolution*, (2003).
[36]Taizi. *Jirga system in Tribal Life*, 6

its decision to the public. The decision of *Jirga* becomes an obligation, and both parties have to respect the *Jirga* decision.[37]
As mentioned above that the decision of the *Jirga* is the most critical part. However, it is classified into two types which are as follows. The decisions are based on the right (Haq) and authority (Waak).

In the case of *Haq*, parties are called to assert their arguments before concluding *Jirga* proceedings. *Jirga* gives the right to the parties to challenge the decision of the *Jirga* even. If one of the parties has any objection, then the party has the right to show past judgments and rules laid down in previous decisions? *Jirga* members may decide the matter in the light of established rules and precedents. Parties may give application to challenge the neutrality and impartiality of the *Jirga* member. In the case of *Haq*, the trailing party may apply for another *Jirga* to review the decision. After reviewing the decision on given is final and cannot be challenged in any context.[38]

Parties usually have confidence and trust in *Jirga* members; they never expect partiality from them. *Jirga* members decide a matter of the parties under the prevailing customs and traditions. The decision is binding on parties, and the scope of appeal is highlighting limited in *Jirga*.[39] The Members of the *Jirga* take *waak* in a written form with some massive guarantee of cash a vast piece of land and also some weapons. This practice is mostly the same in the case of *waak* in Bajaur, Muhamand, Khayber, Kurram, Orakzai, and North and South Waziristan Agencies. All these have the same tribal customs and tradition.

Right of Appeal in a *Jirga* System

The *Jirga* system does not give the right to either party of appealing against the decision of *Jirga*. The unsatisfied party can appeal based on precedents and rules called *Narkh* (precedents and rules) and have the right to reject the decision of the *Jirga* Council. The *Jirga* council may face difficulty in revising its decision in case when different tribes have different *Narkhs* (precedents and rules) on the same issue. In that case, the appealing party can call for another *Jirga*.[40] The scope of appeal is highly limited, but it is allowed in a few cases. *Jirga* never completely prohibits

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[37]Maryamghani, Sustainability and the commons narratives and resources, "*Jirga" The World's oldest Common* (2013). Retrieved from: *https://sustainabilityandthecommons. wordpress.c /2013/ 10/20/jirga-the world's oldest-common,*

[38] Christian and Marjana Dennys, *The Jirga: justice and conflict transformation, A Report of Community Appraisal and Motivation Programme (CAMP),* (CAMP House 217, Street 39, F-11/3, Islamabad and Safer world in Pakistan, 2011),

[39]Taizi. *Jirga system in Tribal Life*, 5

[40] Ali Gohar, *Indigenous Institutions for Decision-Making in Pakistan, Source: (-0001).* Heinrich Boll Foundation, 2008). Retrieved from: https:// www. Justicereparatrice. org/www. Restorativejustice.org/articlesdb/.../7660, 25/12/2015

appeal. *Jirga* gives the right to appeal to both the parties in Haq cases. If any party is not satisfied, they have the right to appeal for review, to carry an additional *Jirga* to reconsider the conflict. If one member of the *Jirga* is not satisfied with the decision, then he may object to it, but argumentation should be strong. There should be a sound reason behind it. It should not only be based on bias or impartiality. If the reason given is genuine and original, *Jirga* members may at the request of the party consider such objection. If a decision is given thrice, it becomes the last and final.[41]

The implementation process of *Jirga* is not technical, but it is speedy and comfortable as compared to the ordinary judicial system. Once the *Jirga* has implemented the decision, both the parties, have no right to appeal. Both the parties give *waak* (authority) to *Jirga* members. The *Jirga* decides for the betterment of both parties. The satisfaction and betterment of the public at large are taken into account to do justice. Authority rests with the *Jirga* members. There is an instrument of authority on which *Jirga* members give their decision. It is different from the award as in arbitration. The authority has a binding force, and it becomes a precedent for other persons of the *Jirga*.[42] *Jirga* approaches the parties concerned**.** Both the parties have to abide by the decision and appeal is limited. The decision made by the *Jirga* is so vital that it is implemented by force within the tribal areas. The elders and respectable persons of the locality also help *Jirga* members to implement *Jirga* decision. In this type of cases, *Jirga* follows Shariah or local custom or tradition of the *khel* (sub-tribe) or families and decide on a fair trial acceptable to both parties. Usually, the decisions of the *Jirga* are according to Islamic law.

Implementation of the Decision

Mostly, *Jirga* members announce the decision publically, but before the announcement, they may take approval from the parties. As compared to ordinary proceedings and execution, the *Jirga* implementation is comfortable and not too much longer. Implementation of *Jirga* is easy because parties have asserted on *Jirga* members. After the pronouncement, the decision becomes final, and parties are supposed to respect the decision and each other. If any party objects to it, then the implementation may be delayed, but after his satisfaction, the decision becomes binding on parties. The implementation does not involve lengthy procedures and technicalities. It may be implemented on the same day on which a decision is given.[43]

In terms of execution and implementation of *Jirga* judgment, *Jirga* members have the right to compel parties to implement and enforce *Jirga* through sanctions. Sanctions may include the involvement of any other

[41]Yousafzai and Ali. *Pukhtoon Jirga*, 21
[42]Taizi. *Jirga system in Tribal Life*, 7
[43] Mushtaq, Qadir, Yaqoob, and Usman Javaid. "*Role of Jirga in Pukhtoon Society* (2016), 11-19

person. However, *Jirga* members have authority over sanctions. *Jirga* may select one person or group of people. The punishments are in the shape of compensation and damages. It includes money payments, fine, custody, apology or retaliation. These punishments become precedent and symbol for others, and in this way, the ratio of crimes is controlled in tribal areas.[44] The group of the elders of tribal people implements and enforce the decision of the *Jirga* members. Though *Jirga* has not any enforcement agency, but as a custom, respectable and honored persons enforce it. These are *Qawmi Lashkar* in Bajaur and Muhamand, *Salwaikhtee (40)* in Waziristan, the *Lashkar* in Afridi areas, and the *Rapakian* in Kurram Agency. Typically, this body is comprised of about forty members in Waziristan, and a different size in different Agencies. It depends on the existing situation and the nature of the case.

The *Pukhtoon Jirga* wholly enjoys the role of Judiciary, Executive and Legislature. In case if any party fails to respect the decision of *Jirga* called "*Makh Arawal"* meaning (turning of the face) then the *Jirga* council has the right to impose its judgment by any means. The disobeying of the decision of *Jirga*, the protestor party may lose the protection right ensured by the *Jirga* and may be killed by his opponents.[45]

Challenges

The *Jirga* consists of only influential people such as Malik's, khans, sardars and there is a strong likelihood that such influential may provide cover to their friends and relatives and decide against the poor".[46] The *Jirga* members are selected from the entire community. Every member of the *Jirga* has friends and relatives. If there is a conflict between two individuals or families the *Jirga* members have some relations or friendship in one of them, they try to give benefits to relatives and friends. It is a challenge to the neutrality of the *Jirga* system, but if someone favors one party during the process of the *Jirga*, he is directly expelled from the *Jirga.*[47]

The tribal *Jirga* despite being a useful tool for dispute resolution, *Jirga* faces a host of challenges. It includes this regard for human rights issues, lack of proper implementation mechanism lack of education, disregard to the concept of a fair trial to name a few. This research highlights challenges facing by a *Jirga* in the present era. The history of the *Jirga* system shows a robust implementation of its decisions, but gradually, the *Jirga* system loses this unique feature. A powerful implementation is the guarantee of a successful *Jirga.* If the *Jirga* members do not implement the

[44] Amna, Shaukat, and Shughla. "*The evolution of Jirga system*: 21-28.
[45] Wardak. *Jirga—A traditional mechanism of conflict resolution,* 2003.
[46] Zaheer Abbas, Islamabad, *Dawn News*, (2013, March 29)
[47] Ali Shan, Shah, and Shahnaz Tariq, "Implications of parallel justice system (Panchyat and Jirga) on society." *People* 2 (2013), 200-209.

decision, it means that the *Jirga* is failed. In the present days, the *Jirga* members very rarely implement the decision of *Jirga* for both parties. Due to this, the conflict is laying unresolved between both parties. The *Jirga* members are mostly elders and influential people of the area, and they practiced the formula of divide and rule. The *Jirga* members make a reliable decision but do not give full attention to implementation for their future aims. They think if they implement the decision, the families will be out from their influence for this the prominent members keep and engage both the parties. The implementations of the Jirga decisions in the present days are not implemented by the *Jirga* members like the previous elders of the tribal community. The proper implementation of the *Jirga* decision is the guaranty of a happy and prosperous community, and peace can also restore through this practice.

At present, women are not allowed to participate directly in *Jirga*; however, they can be represented by entrusting a male member to advocate for them. Women's engagement has traditionally been constrained by the predominance of male *Jirga* members and their reluctance to encourage female participation. The *Jirga*, a purely male institution, neither sanctions women as member, nor witness or a complainant. Women may access *Jirga* only through a male relative. In case of grievances against her male relatives, no recourse whatsoever is available.

Conclusion

This article analyzed the working and implementation of a *Jirga* in tribal areas of Pakistan. The *Jirga* system is used and preferred by most of the residents of tribal districts. Furthermore, the objective is to explore the present-day challenges to the *Jirga* system. The purpose of the article is to analyze the *Jirga* system, particularly in tribal areas of Pakistan. In *Jirga*, a group of experts of the locality take decisions. It is followed in Afghanistan and the tribal areas of Pakistan. *Jirga* is followed as a speedy tool of the dispensation of Justice in *Pukhtoon* societies. The group of experts is similar in the United States, and England, such as important national and international issues are considered. It is common in all tribal districts. Most of the issues and disputes are resolved through the *Jirga* mechanism. The *Jirga* system has a long history. *Jirga* is used mainly in tribal areas as it is the best method to resolve disputes between people. It plays a vital role in solving issues and disputes of people in a speedy and efficacious way. The procedure followed in *Jirga* is straightforward and clear. *Jirga* system is cheap as compared to the ordinary judicial system. The *Jirga* provides equal opportunity to parties. In terms of implementation, the decision is binding on parties.

Its working procedure is straightforward and indigenous. Due to a simple procedure, it is traditional and cost-effective. It follows local language, customs, and traditions, thus creates ownership in the local

populace. The disputants have the right to select *Jirga* members on their mutual consent. The *Jirga* provides a reasonable opportunity of hearing to both the parties. It implements its decision, thus, is a useful tool of dispute resolution, but it has some severe challenges. The *Jirga* system has challenges. The major challenge is that the *Jirga* system faced criticism from government and NGO'S. People criticize that *Jirga* is against human rights standards. The other challenges include; is an un-written procedure, irregularities, ignoring women, favoritism and limited scope of appeal in the mechanism of *Jirga* system.

Recommendations

1. The government should support the *Jirga* system as a majority of people in tribal areas follows it. *Jirga* must be given complete governmental support in order to provide affordable, cheap and effective access to justice for all the tribal People of Pakistan.
2. The training of Jirga members is of the highest importance in order to update their knowledge according to the tribal custom usages and tradition and to get guidance from past decisions.

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